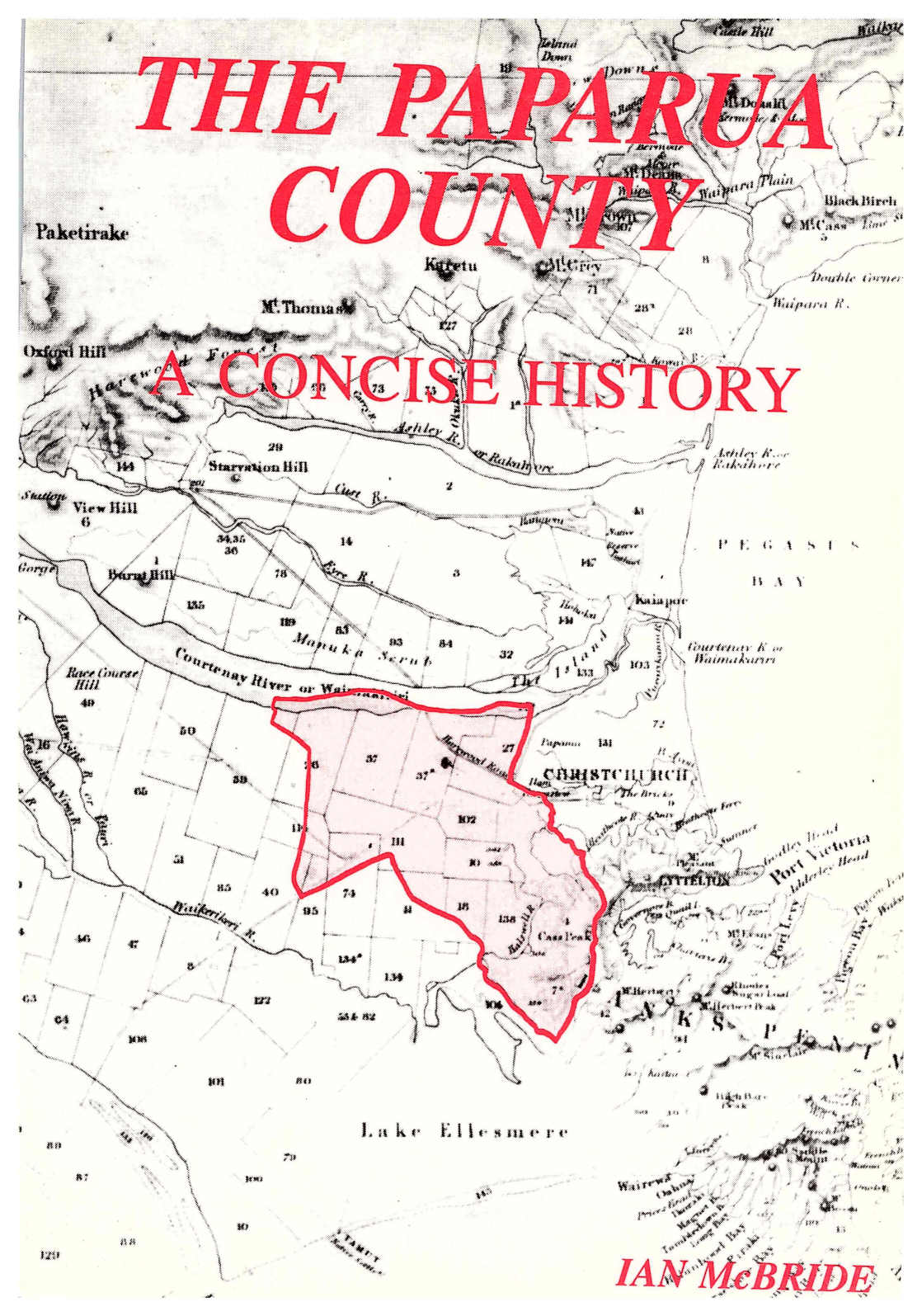
THE PAPARUA COUNTY
A CONCISE HISTORY
IAN McBRIDE
Paketirake
Karetu
Mt Thomas
Oxford Hill
Starvation Hill
View Hill
Burnt Hill
Kaiapoi
Courtenay River or Waimakariri
Mapuka Scrub
Race Course Hill
Horseshoe Bend
Cass Peak
CHRISTCHURCH
LYTTELTON
Port Victoria
Lake Ellesmere
PEGASUS BAY
Black Birch
Waipara Plain
Double Corner
Waipara R.
Ashley R.
Ashley R. or Rakahuri
Cust R.
Eyre R.
Courtenay R. or Waimakariri
Island
Waitaberitori R.
Halswell R.
Heathcote R.
Avon R.
Summer
Woolston
Sumner
Redcliffs
Mt Pleasant
Port Levy
Governors Bay
Lyttelton Harbour
Rhodes
Wainui
Waitewea
Okuku
Magnet R.
Tumbledown Bay
Long Bay
Pigeon Bay
Wakefield
Tramway
Mt Grey
Mt Donald
Mt Cass
Mt Torlesse
Mt Oxford
Mt Peter
Mt Somers
Mt Hutt
Mt Sunday
Mt Algidus
Mt Arrowsmith
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Mt Richardson
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Mt Richardson

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OAKLANDS SCHOOL

THE PAPARUA COUNTY

A CONCISE HISTORY

THE PAPARUA COUNTY

A CONCISE HISTORY

COMPILED AND WRITTEN
by
IAN McBRIDE

EDITED
by
MALCOLM HOPWOOD

FOR THE
PAPARUA COUNTY COUNCIL
APRIL 1911 – OCTOBER 1989

Published by

The Canterbury Public Library

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Unspectacular Honour

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This history also incorporates in edited form the uncompleted work of Dr W.H. Scotter and Mr A.C. Loach on the history of Paparua and Halswell Counties as well as A.C. Loach's history of Templeton.

Constraints of time and funds dictated the scope of the work. It was originally conceived as a three-month project utilising a modest budget from the former county's funds. For these reasons it was not possible to include footnotes, although the bibliography at the end gives the reader an idea of the background material that helped to flesh out this account.

This history is necessarily therefore a concise version of Paparua County during an eventful 78 year existence; it does not pretend to be a comprehensive account.

We sincerely hope, though, that this brief history is sufficient to convince the reader that one day a fuller account is merited. Paparua enjoys an honourable place in the history of New Zealand local government.

Ian McBride
June, 1990.

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P20	Canterbury Museum Collection.
P34	Canterbury Museum Library Map CMU 10.
P46	Photograph by G. T. Radcliffe, August 1989.
P63	Photographs courtesy Mr Irwin Shepherd, then Deputy County Engineer, Paparua County.
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FOREWORD

For many of us, November 1, 1989 was a sad day, marking the end of a long and eventful history. Paparua County was once described by Sir Brian Elwood, chairman of the Local Government Commission, as "one of the two or three most efficient local bodies in New Zealand".

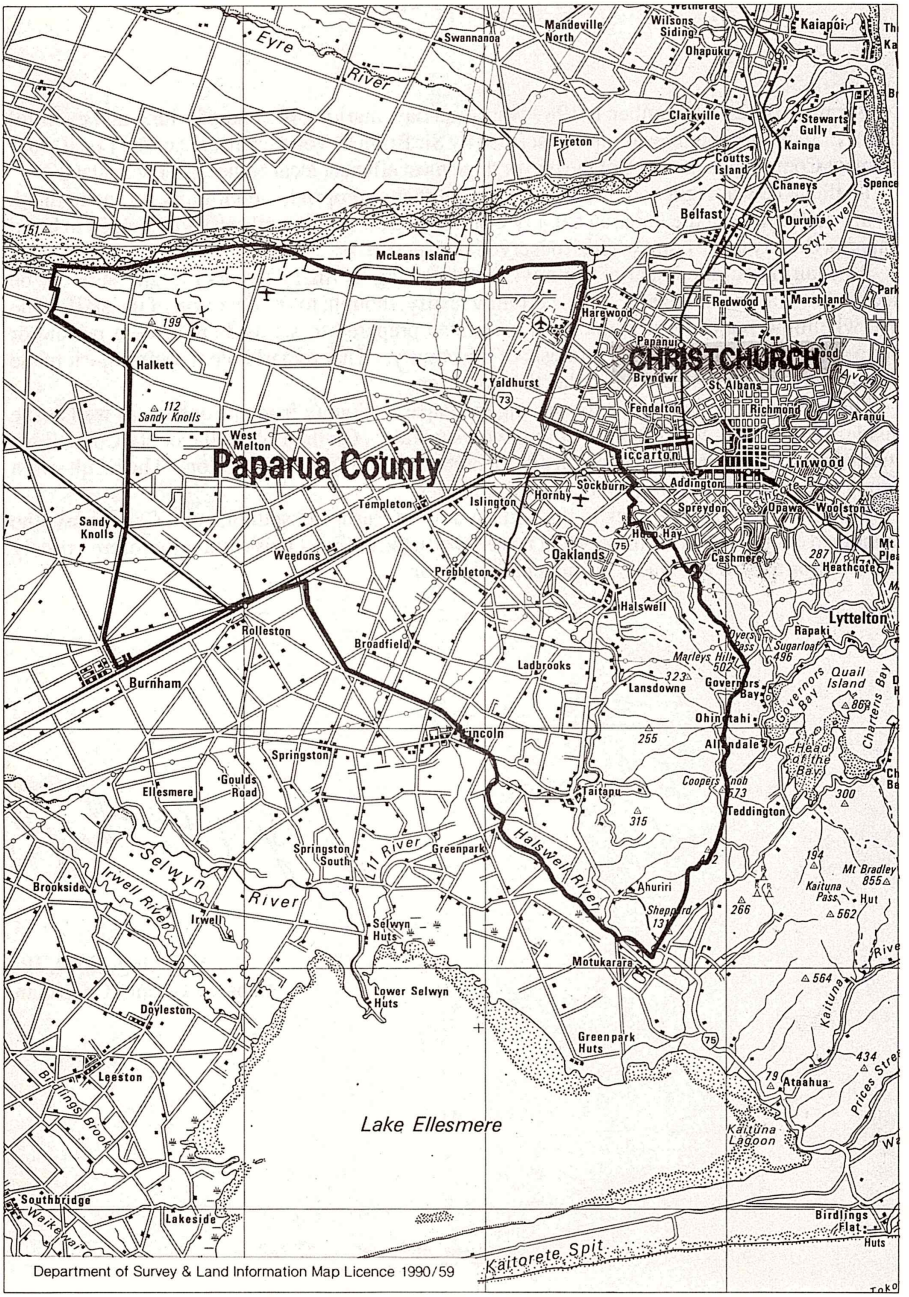
I believe he was right and this is therefore another appropriate opportunity for me to thank all my colleagues on the Paparua County Council and all the council staff who helped to build Paparua County to the point where it deserved such praise.

As chairman of the Paparua County Council during its final 14 years I might naturally be accused of bias in this regard. I can certainly testify, though, to the devotion of the staff. The overwhelming majority of councillors were also prepared to set aside their own private or political concerns in the larger interests of the county. That remarkable working spirit made my duties in the chair a privilege rather than a burden.

I have had the opportunity of observing the Paparua County from the outside as well as the inside. Until 1968, the Halswell County was separate. On the Halswell County Council we studied our larger neighbour carefully before recommending amalgamation. The result was a happy one and benefitted ratepayers in both counties.

With its roots reaching back to the earliest days of European settlement in Canterbury, the combined county has a rich history that is well worth the telling. This work is therefore a timely contribution to New Zealand's sesquicentennial year.

J.Y. Pethig, QSO, JP.
Paparua County Chairman



The Paparua County, showing the County boundary relationship with the adjoining areas.

INTRODUCTION

The County in Brief

After 78 years as a successful and thriving county, Paparua was caught up in the massive reorganisation of New Zealand local government that saw it divided into two parts on November 1, 1989.

The eastern, predominantly urban portion of the county was amalgamated, along with most of its neighbour, Waimairi and all of Riccarton Borough, into a greater Christchurch City.

The western, largely rural part of Paparua County completed a full historical circle when it was incorporated into the newly formed Selwyn County, because it was from a county of the same name (a name honouring New Zealand's first Anglican archbishop) that Paparua County had been born on April 1, 1911.

At the time of its dissolution, Paparua was situated on the western edge of Christchurch and contained an area of approximately 448 square kilometres.

It extended from the Waimakariri river in the north to the summit of the Port hills east of Halswell, and reaching in the south almost to Motukarara. The county stretched westwards to beyond West Melton and to the edge of Rolleston and Lincoln.

The urban area on the eastern fringe of the county included the suburbs of Sockburn, Hornby, Islington and Halswell. Smaller townships included Tai Tapu, Prebbleton, Templeton, Yaldhurst and West Melton.

Most of the county was zoned for rural purposes. The rural portion of Paparua County varied from steep, hilly country to the plains and from highly productive agricultural land to relatively poor shingle country.

According to the New Zealand Resource Inventory Worksheets, approximately 38 per cent of the land was classified as Class 1 and Class 11 land, with a further 21 per cent described as Class 111.

As is hardly surprising in a county adjoining a city, a considerable proportion of the rural area came to be included in the Green Belt conceived by the Canterbury United Council's Regional Planning Scheme. This was to have important implications when the county was faced with increasing pressure from landholders who wished to subdivide their land.

Paparua County also contained about a third of the industrial land in Christchurch. Of the 650 acres zoned for industrial purposes (most of it in Sockburn and Hornby), nearly half had been actively developed by 1989.

Although comparatively small by county standards, Paparua, on a population and valuation basis, was one of the largest counties in New Zealand. An estimated population in 1988 of 33,700 made it comparable in size to the cities of Gisborne, Nelson, Timaru or Upper Hutt.

The Paparua County boundaries included the Christchurch International Airport, the RNZAF Wigram Base, three prisons, Templeton Hospital, Riccarton Racecourse, Ruapuna Park Motor Racing Circuit and wildlife reserves at Peacock Springs and Orana Park.

Bequeathed to the city were such notable council developments as the Denton Park cycle track, the Sockburn Recreational Centre and swimming pools at Sockburn, Halswell and Templeton as well as various parks and domains.

The county was administered under a two-tier system of local government that evolved to suit its mix of rural and urban population, with approximately 14,000 ratepayers residing in the rural district and 20,000 in Hornby, Sockburn and Halswell.

The two-tier system in effect permitted a significant measure of local autonomy and was consequently successful in coping with the inevitable tensions between town and country dwellers.

The Paparua County Council formed the first tier, whilst the District Community Councils of Hornby, Sockburn and Halswell and the Rural District Council formed the second tier.

These four second-tier councils were largely independent; they were able to formulate their own works programmes and could carry out other capital works on their own accord whilst issues or projects relating to the county as a whole were co-ordinated by the controlling Paparua County Council.

Brief details of this structure are as follows:

	Area	Population	Councillors
Hornby District:	5km2	7,650	7
Sockburn District:	11.2km2	6,590	7
Halswell District:	2km2	5,480	7
Rural District:	429.8km2	13,980	8

The Paparua County Council itself comprised 15 councillors, made up of the eight Rural District councillors, together with three representatives each from Hornby and Sockburn District Community Councils and one from Halswell District Community Council.

CHAPTER ONE

A Promising Start

1. The Europeans Arrive

Paparua County encompassed a variety of landscapes including a portion of the Port Hills, rich farmlands and comparatively barren plains.

It is not difficult to picture the original state of these stony northern plains, their flatness broken only by some hummocks - the Sandy Knolls - in the west. The sparse, tawny yellow tussock which covered them was interspersed with thorny matagouri bushes.

The Port Hills too have not changed a great deal; their original appearance would have included a few small patches of bush on the bald yellow flanks. By contrast, it is more difficult to imagine today in the fertile farmlands of the Halswell region, between plains and hills, the original swamps of toi toi, raupo and flax from which these farmlands were laboriously formed.

European settlement of the Christchurch area began in the early 1840s. At the time the total Maori population of Canterbury only numbered about 500 as a result of inter-tribal warfare and the massacres by the North Island Ngati-toa who were led on South Island raids by their fierce chief, Te Ruaparaha.

In 1840, a group of eight Sydney people landed on the open coast nearby and walked across to Potaringamotu (The Place of the Echo) or, as some would have it, Putaringamotu (The Place of the Severed Ear) to take up land they imagined had been bought from the local Maoris. The Australian settlers farmed the area for about 18 months, proving its fertility, but abandoned their venture when they realised that they had no real claims to the country.

Settlement proper began in 1843 when the Deans brothers arrived and named the Potaringamotu area 'Riccarton' after their home parish in Ayrshire.

The Deans brothers came from Wellington, along with a number of other settlers, after they had become frustrated by the New Zealand Company's lack of progress in securing land rights for new settlers in the Wellington hinterland.

These early so-called 'pre-Adamite' settlers introduced livestock into the area and soon confirmed the worth of the land by shipping produce back to Wellington.

It is surprising that other land-hungry farmers did not immediately follow them. It seems that most preferred to wait for land in the Wairarapa rather than face the hazards of the comparatively unknown south.

Large-scale settlement only began after the Canterbury Association had chosen the Plains as the site for their planned Anglican church colony. The energising spirit behind the association was John Robert Godley, a young Irish Tory gentleman who was able to get the backing of prominent British figures for the settlement scheme.

The new colony was planned according to the theories on colonisation of Edward Gibbon Wakefield: the intention was to reproduce, in this new and distant land, the best features and full spectrum of English social life, from gentry to yeomen.

The Canterbury Association commissioned Captain Joseph Thomas, a man with some knowledge of New Zealand, to select a site for the colony. Captain Thomas and his surveyors landed at Purau on December 15, 1848, with the intention of investigating the Port Cooper plains.

Soon after this, backed by reports from his surveyors and the evidence of the area's fertility provided by the farms of the pre-Adamite settlers, Captain Thomas was able to persuade Governor George Grey and Bishop Augustus Selwyn to consent to his choice of locality.

The New Zealand Company then granted the Canterbury Association an area of 2,500,000 acres between the Waipara and Ashburton rivers which became known as the 'Canterbury Block'. The association was to repay the New Zealand Company at the rate of 10 shillings an acre.

Canterbury had earlier been rejected as the site of a Scottish settlement after Frederick Tuckett, a surveyor from Nelson, had reported unfavourably on the Plains. His view was possibly jaundiced by a wet and cold night he had spent lost in the marshes while on his way to visit the Deans brothers. The Scots were consigned instead to the Dunedin region.

Some years later, one of Captain Thomas's surveyors, Charles Obin Torlesse, who probably saw more of the country than anyone else, commented in a letter home that "Tuckett must have been blind to pass over this place", adding complacently that "Providence interfered with him and saved this for Canterbury".

But Tuckett's view that the Plains were not suited to agricultural use and their chief value would be as a pastoral resource was to prove accurate - at least for the first few years of settlement.

In its attempt to reproduce an English community in the new settlement, the Canterbury Association was initially committed to Wakefield's 'sufficient price' policy. This policy was driven by the vision of a close and harmonious community based on the rural English model.

The ideal comprised an agricultural economy of large landowners and tenant farmers where land would not be so cheap as to encourage labourers to rise too rapidly above their station. It was felt that this had been the downfall of previous colonial experiments.

In Canterbury, Wakefield's plan for new colonies was to be more thoroughly tested than in any of the five previous settlements inspired by him.

The 'sufficient price' for land (fixed, uniform and sufficient) was calculated to generate adequate funds for public works, churches and schools. It was also designed to assist labouring people to emigrate, but not be so high as to discourage purchase of land by others.

By making provision for roads and bridges, churches and schools and for an adequate supply of labour, Wakefield hoped the new colony would pass quickly through the crudities of the pioneering stage and rapidly assume some of the qualities of civilised society.

Thanks to careful preparation for the first settlers by Captain Thomas and his team of surveyors and labourers, the colony did indeed achieve this desirable transition more smoothly than did any other settlement in New Zealand or Australia. When Godley reached Lyttelton he was favourably impressed both by the number of houses already built there and by the roading that Thomas had accomplished.

The settlers who arrived in December 1850 on the first four ships sent out by the association certainly found conditions easier than did any similar body in New Zealand. Perhaps no pioneer colonists ever encountered fewer serious difficulties. Even the weather was kind to those who at first had to camp out.

But it soon became apparent that Wakefield's vision for the new colony had not taken account of local realities such as the distances from major markets for agricultural produce or the cost of establishing comparatively small farming units. Few colonists had sufficient capital to weather these obstacles for long.

Fortunately Godley, who was present in Canterbury during the initial stages of settlement, was flexible enough to adapt to circumstance.

It was partly the pressure of Australian pastoralists (known as 'Shagroons' to the English

settlers) that forced Godley to modify Wakefield's plan. These men had fled drought-stricken land in Australia and had found salvation for their flocks in the extensive stretches of good, pastoral land immediately available in Canterbury.

The Australians were able to demonstrate that pastoral life provided quick returns for comparatively little capital and that the required farming knowledge could readily be learned.

Their example in the early days of the settlement provided, ironically, salvation for members of the gentry who had arrived to form the social pinnacle of the new settlement but who quickly found that the difficulties of agricultural life promised them little chance of success. Soon many of the settlers were urgently pressing for the lease of pastoral runs in the Canterbury Block at realistic rates.

At first, however, land was taken up according to plan. Before leaving England, colonists bought land orders, paying £3 an acre. This was comparatively expensive: in no other settlement was the price more than £2, and otherwise it was 10 shillings an acre.

The minimum size for a section was 50 acres of rural land and an inducement for the original selectors of these sections was the addition of half an acre in Christchurch or the port town.

The sequence in which these land orders were purchased became the 'order of choice' in Canterbury which determined priority if two buyers desired the same land. The numbers used for this order of choices were perpetuated in the numbers of rural sections still used today for land identification.

The association's original intention was that land purchasers were to have three months to inspect the whole Canterbury area thoroughly before land was apportioned.

This characteristic emphasis on careful planning and preparation was yet another aspect that had to be modified in the face of settler impatience. Wakefield's erratic brother, Felix, who was present in Canterbury, persuaded Captain Thomas instead to allow a procedure called 'free choice before survey'.

This meant that rural land could be selected before the survey work was completed. All that was needed was a roadline or river marked on the map along which measurements could be entered.

This lack of system had the immediate benefit of allowing colonists to secure land with a minimum of preliminary surveying and mapping but it also led later to some scandalous abuses.

Eager purchasers began as early as February 17, 1851 to mark their choices on maps Thomas had prepared. All of the 106 purchasers in the first body had apparently made their selection within two days.

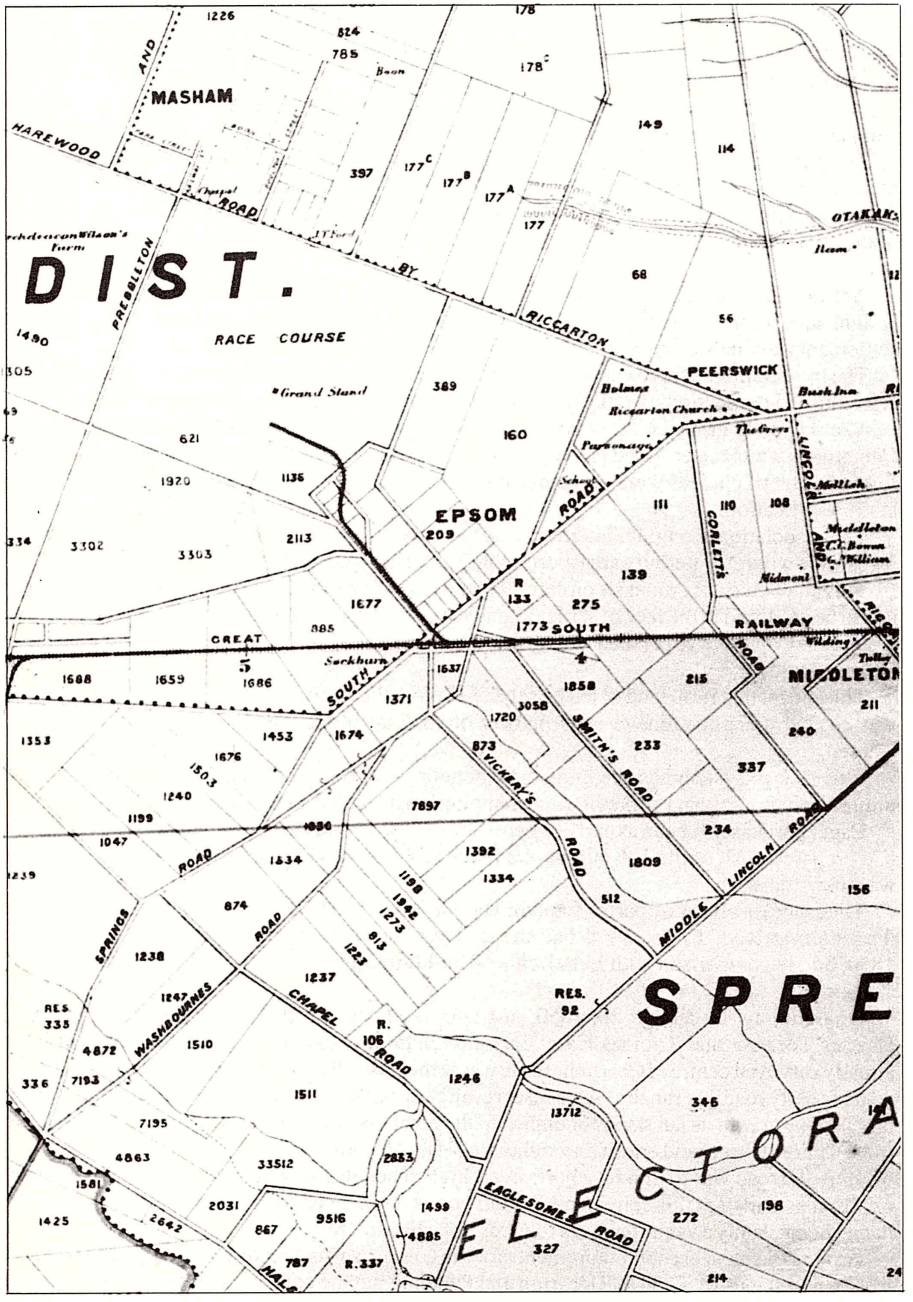
The surveyors forming part of Captain Thomas's team had been busy for the two years before the settlers arrived. Christchurch had already been laid out in streets and sections by December 1850, but, in comparison with Lyttelton's 60 buildings, the future city still contained only two shacks.

On Saturday, December 28, 1850, just after the arrival of the fourth ship, the surveyors, Charles Torlesse and Thomas Cass, began to chain and peg a roadline westward from the already surveyed centre of Christchurch towards the future Paparua County.

This early roadline ran through a reserve, already named 'Hagley Park', then past the Deans brothers' farm with its tall stands of timber, to the point "3 miles, 60 chains" west of Christchurch (now Church Corner and one of the boundaries of the Paparua County).

Here the road was to divide: a north-west branch heading towards 'Oxford' (merely a mark on Thomas's map at this stage) and a southwest road planned to serve 'Lincoln'. This latter name denoted only a vague territory towards Lake Ellesmere.

Among the most urgent requirements for the colonists was a ready supply of timber. There were small stands of wood at Riccarton and Papanui, but the colony had been forced to import



Sections along Riccarton Road.

large quantities from Tasmania.

This need dictated the next road. On December 30 Torlesse recorded in his journal that, with a team of four labourers (two of them Maori), he began "at 3 miles 60 chains on Cass's line from Christchurch and started (the) road-line to Harewood Forest".

For the first four miles they laid the road-line direct for Mount Torlesse, 42 miles away and already named after the young surveyor who had climbed it. Then, with two small deflections, the line crossed the 'Courtenay' (Waimakariri) where this river was divided into 13 streams flowing through a wide bed of shingle.

It is doubtful, though, whether timber waggons ever forded the river here as Torlesse intended: the pioneer waggon drivers apparently preferred instead the narrower crossing near the Waimakariri gorge.

From Hagley Park reserve to the river the roadline ran through "tutu, flax and high fern for about five mile", then through good grass for another five miles. At first it was named 'Harewood Road' over its entire length, then the two mile section past Riccarton was called 'Riccarton Road'.

The following eight miles to the Waimakariri River crossing became 'Harewood Road by Riccarton' to distinguish it from 'Harewood Road by Papanui' which some years later joined this road at the river.

During 1851 another branch of the road through Riccarton was laid out for a mile. This extension became the 'Upper Lincoln Road' to distinguish it from the lower Lincoln Road which had been surveyed by Cass in early January 1851, while Torlesse was busy working along the river.

Within a comparatively short time the Riccarton Road was lined on both sides with farm fences built mostly of sods, but it was eight years before any formation work was done on the road itself.

Early travel on this road was particularly trying after bad weather. Logs from Deans Bush had to be floated down the ditches as the roadway was too soft to carry heavy loads.

As late as 1858 drivers still encountered frustratingly slow swampy stretches on the road. It was only in August 1859 that the the road surface was "metalled to the fourth mile or up to the Riccarton Church".

The first selectors had purchased their sections before July 1, 1850. Shortly after this, sections along the extension of Riccarton Road towards Lincoln (and thus within the later Paparua County) were offered for selection.

The surveyors now concentrated on work along all the roads leading from the city so that they could put purchasers in possession of their property.

In early April, John Cowell Boys, another of the first band of surveyors, showed purchasers their various sections along Riccarton Road, including sections 108, 110, 111 and 139 along the south of the roadline between the present Hansons Lane and Watts Road, and thus within the boundaries of the later Paparua County.

A short account of some of these early purchasers reveals an interesting diversity in their backgrounds and intentions. Number 108 was granted to 21 year old John Broughton who had arrived on the *Cressy*. He does not appear to have lived on this land which he subdivided and sold in 1856. It was later the site of Francis Slater's house, 'The Grays', which stood until Hays Limited built a supermarket there.

Next along the road was Number 110, given as a gift to Edward Tippetts by his father. When this young man arrived in June, he went into business in Lyttelton with two shipmates and apparently soon struck difficulties, for two years later he sold his Riccarton holding at £10 below cost to Stephen Corlett, manager of J.C. Watt Russell's nearby large farm, 'Ilam'.

James Jesse Bulkeley, a sea captain and an absentee owner, acquired Number 111 through an agent. His descendants in England owned this property, which was entailed for 88 years.

Riccarton High School stands today on part of this section. Previously the property had been leased until about 1862 to Arthur Charles Knight, a nephew of Jane Austen.

Knight became a well-known landowner in the Templeton area and in the 1870s was prominent in provincial politics, particularly as an opponent of the Superintendent, William Rolleston.

The Canterbury Association had prided itself on the fact that nine-tenths of the land purchasers were genuine settlers. But even the few examples discussed are sufficient to show that motives for the purchase of land were mixed and that some purchasers found other ways of capitalising on their investments.

The fourth purchaser in this area, however, conformed more to the desired pattern. George Chantler Beard, who secured Number 139, had also arrived on the *Cressy* and was a Cambridge graduate.

In 1853 he married Ann, eldest daughter of the Reverend Charles Mackie, vicar of the nearby Holy Trinity Church at Avonside. Beard soon became a church worker and warden at nearby St. Peter's Church, Riccarton. He was involved in several sheep runs on the Rakaia River, but built his home 'Henfield' on his purchased section and died there in 1865, aged 42.

To the traveller on the empty plain, 'Henfield' was an outpost of civilisation until Robert Harrison built his 'Lowther Cottage' on the adjoining 50 acres late in 1852.

Harrison had made a well-planned start by bringing from England a four-roomed prefabricated dwelling. He also erected a windmill - something of a rarity in the area - for the grinding of corn.

In spite of this forethought he had apparently had enough of pioneer life by 1858, for he sold in September of that year to James George Rossiter. The latter promptly named the farm 'Court Barton' and leased it to William Robert Cator.

Across the road (such as it was) and extending 50 chains from the present Church Corner, lay the 200 acre Horsford Farm (R.S. 160) selected by the Reverend (later Archdeacon) Octavius Mathias, who lived two miles away near Hagley Park.

Mathias had applied for this land grant in London in October 1850, and had requested that 20 of these 200 acres should be "glebe to the endowment of the rector, vicar or curate of the parish in which the same shall be situated".

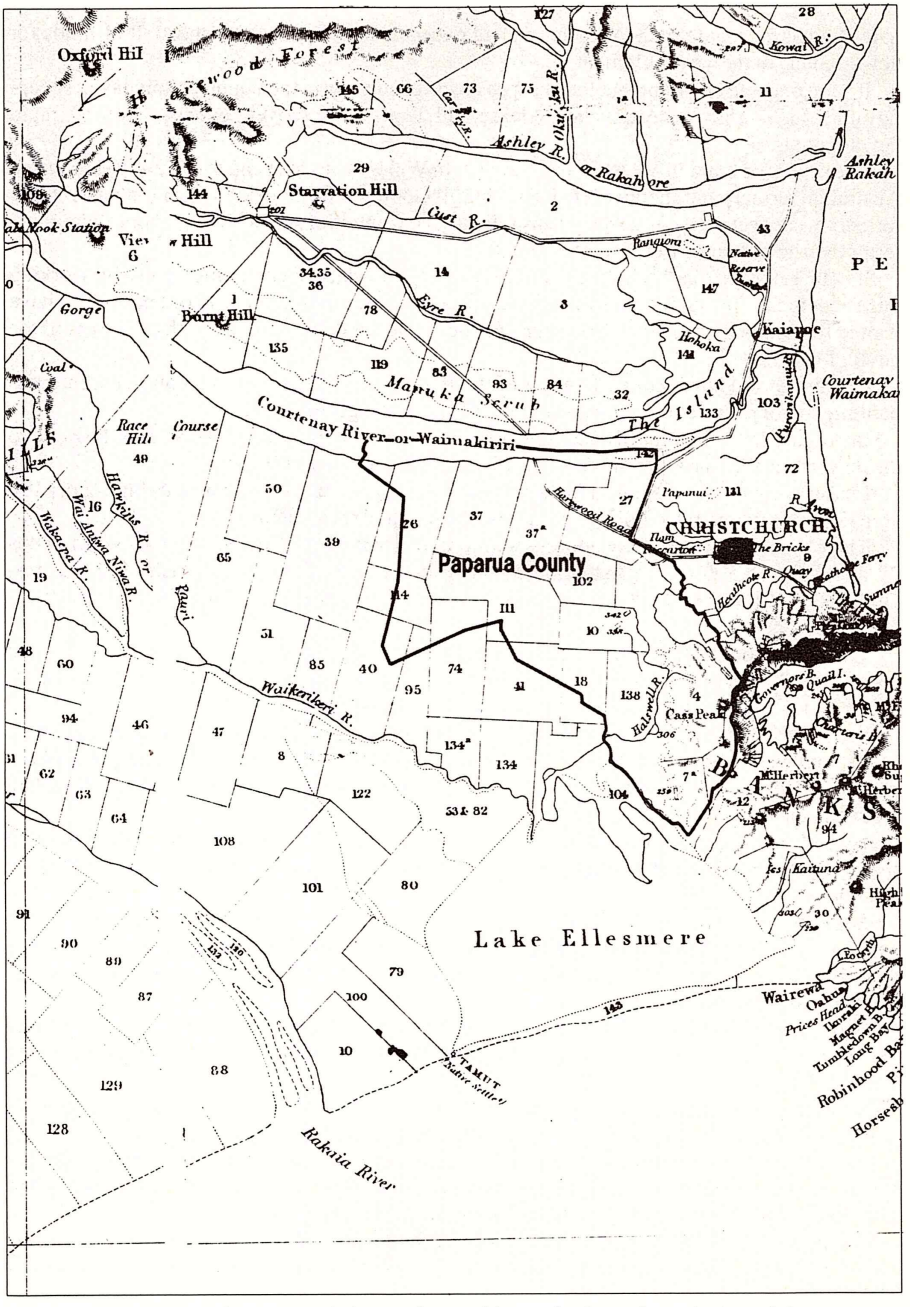
This farm was approximately triangular in shape and had a 60 chain frontage along Harewood (now Yaldhurst) Road as far as the 50 acre farm of George Willis. Just beyond this property in turn lay that part of the plan soon to be reserved by the new Provincial Government for the Canterbury Racecourse.

Such were some of the first property developments and changes in what was to become Paparua County.

In 1853, a Provincial Government - one of six in New Zealand - was established in Canterbury. James Edward Fitzgerald was elected as the first Superintendent and the Provincial Council held its first meeting in September. During 1854/5 the Canterbury Association handed over its assets and obligations to this new Canterbury Provincial Government.

2. *The Early Pastoral Runs*

In the first four months of settlement, only 14,000 acres had been purchased in the Canterbury Block and less than 500 acres were cropped in the first year. The land sales were less than



Early Pastoral Runs, and their relationship to the later boundaries of the Paparua County.

half of what the Canterbury Association had expected and this meant a shortfall of funds for development of the new settlement.

It soon became apparent that the best prospects of success in the young colony lay in sheep-farming on a large scale on cheap, leasehold land. Moreover, events favoured rapid development.

The severe drought in Victoria and New South Wales brought cheap sheep and experienced Australian farmers and shepherds to Canterbury. Godley soon perceived that numbers of these farmers were securing good sheep runs outside the Canterbury Block at far more favourable terms than he was empowered to grant.

It is therefore to Godley's credit that he was able to adapt to economic reality by working out a scheme for providing pastoralists with acceptable terms and security of tenure. To have waited for authority from the Canterbury Association would have retarded the progress of the new colony.

Change would have required an Act of the British Parliament, not to mention the interminable delays of postal communication by lengthy sea voyages either way.

In August 1851 the first licences under Godley's plan were issued. There is only space to discuss briefly the Class 111 runs here, that is, runs of more than 5,000 acres.

Leases were for seven years and the rents advanced progressively from one shilling per 100 acres in the first year to 10 shillings per acre in the fifth and subsequent years.

The Class 111 runs that lay entirely within the later Paparua County were: Coringa (Runs 27 and 102) 15,500 acres; Ashfield and Tresillian (Runs 37 and 37a) each 10,000 acres; Guinness's (Run 138), 6000 acres; Prebble's (Run 10), 5,000 acres; and Field's (Run 111) 10,000 acres.

The county boundary passed through what were Sandy Knolls (Runs 26 and 114) 15,500 acres; Broadlands (Runs 40, 74, 95) 25,000 acres; Lansdown-Halswell (Runs 4, 4A and 104) 20,000 acres; and The Springs (Runs 18, 41 and 134) 15,000 acres.

Since these sheep and cattle 'stations' as they were called were all near Christchurch, the best of the land was soon bought freehold by settlers. Within 14 years, for example, the leasehold portion of Coringa was reduced to 4,000 acres of thin soil over shingle that was little better than the river bed itself.

By 1864 very few of these stations included more than 5,000 acres of leasehold. Although the stations were increasingly composed of freehold land, they often retained their identity for many years.

Some of the notable characters amongst the early holders of these runs include Edward Merson Templer, who acquired Coringa in the late 1850s and lived there until 1882. Coringa was the nearest station to Christchurch and extended from just behind the freehold section at St. Peters, on Church Corner.

A brief account of Templer is sufficient to correct the facile stereotype of the Australian 'Shagroons' as rough and unpolished in comparison to the educated and high-minded young English 'Pilgrims'.

Templer had originally emigrated to Australia where he had started two stations. He was, in fact a cultivated and well-read man who spoke French, German and Italian.

As a member of the Provincial Council in his new country, he was to show greater concern for the public interest than did many of his fellow runholders. He no doubt earned their wrath by his attempts to restrict their greedy search for additional privileges.

From 1882 to 1908, Coringa, now largely freehold, was the property of George Gatensby Stead, a leading wheat exporter and one of the most prominent racehorse owners in the history of the New Zealand turf.

Ashfield and Tresillian, the next two stations, were originally one run, No. 37. Notable early license holders of Ashfield were the McLean brothers. Allan McLean left his money and his great town house, that eventually became part of the Dental School, to found two homes for elderly women.

In 1874 Ashfield passed into the hands of the bachelor brothers William Robert Faithfull Clarkson and Henry Adam Clarkson. They took the land over as 5,000 acres freehold with 3,000 merinos.

Much of the land was then reserved for river protection works and in 1880 the two brothers had to buy 20 acres out of the reserve to protect their homestead site at the junction of Harewood and Clarksons Roads. They held this property until well into the present century and were familiar figures on all Canterbury racecourses.

The western half of Run 37 was named 'Tresillian' by Charles Reed, who acquired it from the Macdonald brothers.

Reed was one of the Australians who had come from Victoria, a fact he advertised by wearing the characteristic Australian squatter costume: white moleskin trousers, a blue woollen smock and a cabbage tree hat. Despite this antipodean apparel he still signed himself as 'of Devonshire, gentleman'. Though a skilful sheepman, Reed was noted for being eccentric and extremely litigious.

In 1864, Reed had consolidated his interests elsewhere on the Ashburton River and relinquished Tresillian to John and Joseph Brabazon. The Brabazons were young Irish gentlemen known for their skilful horsemanship.

Joseph soon returned to Ireland, but John Brabazon bought land around Aylesbury and Weedons. He farmed over 5,000 acres at Aylesbury, a place he is said to have named.

Sandy Knolls, Run 26, was licensed to Edward Templer on September 7, 1851. Templer also acquired Run 114 in August, 1853, but sold both runs to Thomas Rowley before he bought Coringa.

Rowley unwisely built a homestead on the river bank and in 1859 the inevitable threat of erosion forced him to move to a freehold section on the Harewood Road just past the Weedons Ross Road.

In February of 1859, the *Lyttelton Times* reported that the Waimakariri "threatens to break the bank at Mr Rowley's station". A few days later, the Times recorded that the river "is eroding away where Mr Rowley's house once stood".

Thomas Rowley shared three things in common with George Chantler Beard, purchaser of section No.139, who has already been discussed. Rowley, like Beard, was a parson's son and also became a warden of St. Peter's Church at Riccarton. Like Beard, he too married the daughter of a local priest. In Rowley's case Marianne, eldest daughter of Archdeacon Octavius Mathias, became his wife.

When St. Peter's was dedicated, Rowley was able to entertain his fellow parishioners at his farm, 'Middleton'. This property became well-known later on as 'Middleton Grange', home of Sir Charles Bowen.

Sandy Knolls was only one of Rowley's properties; he bought and sold land successfully in several places and even found time to sit briefly in the New Zealand parliament before returning to England. In 1863, Sandy Knolls became part of Reed's Tresillian.

3. Roads and Road Boards

The growth of settlements and townships in the Paparua County was influenced to a certain

extent by the roading network. The earliest roads, as has been shown, merely regularised the first tracks made by the Deans brothers and other early settlers.

Although almost invariably the word 'track' was superseded by 'road', in one or two instances the survival of this name reminds us of the early pioneering days. The officially named 'Shands Road', for example, has persisted in popular usage as 'Shands Track'.

In 1861 this roadline was defined by a furrow four miles long ploughed by John Shand and his son Thomas from their 290 acre section at Springston to a point on the Selwyn Road where the father was later to erect the Wheatsheaf Hotel.

But of all the tracks, 'Lakes' was the most important. A contemporary colonist, Alexander Lean, has left us an account of his journey on this track.

In the early summer of 1853, Lean set off with George Ross to walk the 40 miles from Christchurch to the Rakaia river where he was taking up a station. They found the road through Riccarton, though full of "portentous holes" was at least defined until "the westernmost fences of the Harrison and Mathias sections" were passed. From that point, "the open tussock yellow plain, in its primeval state reached away to the south".

Four miles along a waggon track which "tended away from the right" at the Mathias boundary, Lean and Ross arrived at the 'Waterholes'. They found these two rainwater pools so fouled by cattle that they had to resort to Ross's water bottle which contained sherry mixed with water.

'Toi-toi Gully', a much less reliable watering hole four miles further on proved to be dry, and they were forced to continue on their unsteady way until they reached Lake's homestead at Milton Station on the Selwyn River before they could properly quench their thirst.

Alfred Lake was the victim of another early hazard. As Lean explained in his Journal, "after Lake had built his house, his wheel tracks were followed by all succeeding travellers so that he found the calls on his hospitality so numerous as to threaten bankruptcy".

Exhibiting an early example of Kiwi ingenuity, Lake, in self-defence, became an 'Accommodation House Keeper'. When Lake soon afterwards returned to England and let his Milton Station; an official accommodation house was licensed there in turn by George Henry Parlby and George Henry Giggs.

Lakes Track eventually became the first South Road. Its course may still be followed along the north side of the railway line almost to Rolleston and then by the Two Chain Road to the Selwyn.

As the traffic increased over the years, the unmetalled extension of Riccarton road that merged into Lakes Track became increasingly rutted or boggy and difficult to negotiate. In 1863, road construction was at last carried as far as Waterholes, nine miles from Christchurch.

The improvements allowed public passenger service along the road to be improved and the well-known Cobb and Company coaches were soon running.

As the *Lyttelton Times* reported in November of 1863, "A commodious coach has taken the place of the open cart which hitherto did duty for travellers on the South Road. Passengers are no longer requested to get out and walk whenever the road is a little heavy, in fact Cobb and Co travel with the times".

Yet the general picture of road improvements in Canterbury was not rosy. By 1863 the Provincial Government had been in charge of Canterbury affairs for 10 years. Although one of its primary responsibilities was for the provision of highways, little had been achieved.

Lack of funds had held up progress for years, but, by the time that increased land sales had provided fresh revenue, the Provincial Government had committed itself to the railway and tunnel project from Christchurch to Lyttelton. The immediate effect of this project was to drain off funds needed for roads.

Opponents of the tunnel scheme argued that the first need was for good roads throughout the province. By 1863 it was clear, as these same critics had argued, that the government could not build roads without direct taxes. Few people wanted taxes.

Letting local people tax themselves seemed a simple way out of this dilemma. The Provincial Government accordingly thrust the responsibility for roading onto the local areas. It paid to them what money was available and hoped that each district would, for its own benefit, levy an adequate rate. Thus were the various Road Boards created.

Canterbury was accordingly divided into 27 road districts, each to be administered by a board of five elected members. The later Paparua County would encompass what were the Lincoln, Halswell and Templeton Districts as well as parts of the Courtenay, Spreydon and Little River districts.

A system of plural voting meant that the wealthiest landowners had the most votes on these boards. Owners of land valued at more than £200, for example, had five votes, while those with property worth £25 had only one vote. Those without property had no franchise. Plural voting remained in force even after the Counties Act of 1876.

It is hardly surprising that the members elected to these Road Boards were, in most instances, the prominent landowners. The first Lincoln Board, for example, was elected at a ratepayers' meeting on February 1, 1864 at the house of Antony Hodgson on the Springs Road two miles from Prebbleton. John Norris Tosswill was elected chairman, and the other members were Hugh Bennetts, Antony Hodgson, Joseph Broadbent and Francis Marchant.

Of these, only Bennetts could not be called a successful farmer since he was forced to surrender his farm, Clifton Lodge, to the mortgagee in 1865.

Two meetings had to be called before the ratepayers of the Templeton district (originally called West Avon) were able to elect a board. This initial lack of interest was not unusual at the time.

When the board was finally appointed, the members were again prominent runholders who in addition owned freehold sections: William Tosswill (chairman), George Ross, Edward Templer and Strickland Field. The fifth member, the Reverend James Wilson, was also a large landowner.

It was understood that each board, in addition to rates levied, should receive grants from the Provincial Government equal to a quarter of the receipts from land sales in the district.

However, any such system rigidly applied would have been unjust because, by 1864, the districts closest to Christchurch had little land left for sale, but possessed the most developed network of roads to maintain. Grants therefore had to be juggled to suit needs and circumstances.

The Provincial Government's hope that the Road Boards would largely finance themselves through local rates proved to be an illusion. The boards instead preferred to rely heavily upon government grants and even so experienced difficulties. As the economic recession deepened towards the end of the 1860s, for example, the Templeton Road Board gave notice to its very competent clerk, Francis Stedman.

To encourage local rating, the Provincial Government forced the Road Boards to draw up a ratepayers' roll as a condition for receiving their grants, but the rates levied remained very low despite the fact that many of the runholders were comparatively wealthy. In the Provincial Council their representatives also blocked the proposed attempt to provide for rating on sheep numbers as well as freehold land.

Local ratepayers were determined that they should not be mulched for the benefit of outsiders who travelled through the district on their roads or indeed pay any more than was absolutely necessary. The Provincial Government's large commitments in other areas also kept

funds tight.

These two factors combined to establish a parsimonious attitude on the part of the Road Boards which was never really shaken off. One consequence became an obsession with hoarding funds.

When the slump gave way to the great Canterbury land boom of 1873-9, for instance, land sales provided the Templeton Board with grants of over £2,000 a year and the Lincoln Board with more than £4,000. The Templeton Board was able to face the long depression of 1879-95 with substantial reserves which became an important source of revenue.

In a representative year such as 1885, the Templeton Board spent a mere £354 on about 70 miles of formed roads. Although this sum was substantially more than the rates collected from its 40 square miles of territory, the congratulatory speeches at the annual ratepayers' meeting showed that the board considered its major achievement was to have retained £3,419 in the bank and to have gained £204 in interest.

The Lincoln Road Board may have had greater excuse for a similar niggardliness. During the late 1860s the small farmers of its districts went through difficult times and the board waited hopefully each year for the outcome of the harvest before attempting to collect rates.

Although receiving grants of twice the size given to Templeton, the Lincoln Board also played poor relation to its neighbour, imposing upon Templeton as much as possible.

The south road provides a case in point. Until 1873 the crown of this road was the boundary between the two districts for some five and a half miles. The road was often scandalously neglected despite its importance as one of the main highways to further regions. One reason for this neglect was that local landowners rarely used it.

The Templeton Board offered to maintain the full length of the road if Lincoln paid half the cost. This arrangement collapsed when the account for £20 was not paid even under threat of legal action.

The next plan called for each board to maintain half the shared length, but Lincoln's section, so the story goes, became so overgrown with gorse and broom, that traffic was diverted to a track (Jones Road) north of the railway line and so under Templeton's care.

Outside of the swampy areas, road-making in Canterbury was in general as easy and therefore cheap as anywhere in New Zealand. But since construction was often not absolutely essential, little was done and Canterbury highways were among the worst in the country.

Formation consisted simply of ploughing along the road line and filling in gullies and smaller depressions with the help of a two-horse scoop. The passing traffic was then left to compact the surface.

After a time shingle from one of the numerous gravel pits was spread on the most frequently used roads. The larger stones and boulders were removed with harrows and simply piled at the side of the road. These barriers at least forced drays to use the crown of the road.

The roads which resulted from this kind of basic treatment were generally accepted as the price paid for low rates.

Occasionally, however, a traveller revolted. Sir Thomas Tancred, brother of H.J. Tancred, wrote to the *Lyttelton Times* in December of 1874 to decry the use of unbroken shingle. Searching like Dante for an appropriate punishment to fit the crime, he suggested the fate of Road Board members should be "to trudge for long years over vast, treeless, sunbaked plains of loose shingle".

By 1866, the Great South Road beyond Riccarton had still been only roughly formed and the cartage of wool from the runs and the first wheat from the farms was exasperatingly slow and expensive. But this year also marked the opening of a railway to the south - one of the major achievements of the Provincial Government - and this was to prove a great benefit to farmer and

businessman alike.

In October 1866, the first length of line to Rolleston was opened by the Superintendent of Canterbury, W.S. Moorhouse, who made a ceremonial trip to the terminus with members of the Provincial Government.

A contemporary journalist recorded the visible progress along the line. After commenting on the amount of settlement as far as Riccarton and the "spire of a pretty church there", he continued:

> Little farm homesteads follow on either side of the line for some seven miles from the city, affording abundant proof of the value of a railway as inducing cultivation of land along its route. These farms have all sprung into being since the line was surveyed, or within the last two years. In general, these holdings present a barren aspect, but little having been done in the way of tree planting. But at intervals we passed charming homesteads nestling amid weeping willows and poplars in all the freshness of their spring foliage....
>
> The lands of the stock and dairy farmers were enclosed in permanent fences of gorse up to (Weedons) and the paddocks were rapidly assuming the greenness of English grasses which showed a marked contrast to the scorched appearance of the native pastures on the unimproved land.

His account shows that the future county was growing at a steady pace. Despite problems with funds and the parochialism of local road boards, gradually improving roads and the new railways were creating the right conditions for the various small settlements that were starting to gain their separate identities. These settlements now need brief discussion.

CHAPTER TWO

Growth in the Early Settlements

1. Prebbleton

South of Coringa Station lay Prebbles' Run on very different country. Largely because the land here was so superior, the history of this run differs considerably from those already discussed.

William Prebble had settled in the area in 1847, more than four years before the arrival of the first Canterbury colonists. William, and his eldest brother Richard, had managed to build up their livestock whilst working for the Deans at Riccarton.

By the time they applied to the Canterbury Association for land, they had 50 cows, two bulls and a mare. On January 1, 1852, the licence for Prebbles' Run No.10 was granted.

It was obvious that land so close to town might be bought out by others before the expiry of the Prebbles' seven year lease to graze stock on the 5,000 acres. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Prebbles confined their improvements to a small block on which they built a sod cottage with a thatched roof.

They then lined their northern boundary with a sod wall a mile long. From here a waggon track, at first known as 'Prebbles' Track', and later, after it had been extended, as 'Springs Track' led back to the city.

William and Richard were now joined by their brother Edward. The superior land that the Prebble brothers had chosen was a natural magnet for other settlers, and it was not long before farmers had established themselves in sufficient numbers to support their own church and school.

By 1860, most of the land in the area had been freeholded. The Prebble bothers had secured 230 freehold acres by 1857, some of it at the newly reduced price of £2 an acre.

In the same year William Browning Tosswill bought a 100 acre section. In the middle of the next year, 1858, he was joined by his brother, John Norris Tosswill, who soon owned 410 acres just across the Springs Track from the Prebbles' land.

John Tosswill named his farm 'Hayne' after a country seat near his birthplace in Devon. It was John Tosswill who was to be the driving force in establishing Prebbleton as something more than just a vague destination.

Like a number of other enterprising young men of his time, John Tosswill decided to form a township four years later when trade in land was booming.

Fifty five acres in the south-west corner of his farm were surveyed into quarter acre lots which Tosswill then offered for sale at £10 a piece. His agent's advertisement declared that "the whole of the land for miles around the site of the sale having been purchased and settled for several years past, the want of a centre of population has been greatly felt by the inhabitants of this large and rich district".

The advertisement also promised that "the site stands high above the swampy lands, has a gravelly sub-soil...and is in every way a healthy locality".

To launch the scheme, John Tosswill donated one acre for a school and five acres for a church. A combined church-school consisting of one unlined room with a small vestry attached was built on this land from a government grant.

Bishop Henry Harper conducted the first service on Sunday, June 29, 1862. Next morning

the schoolmaster, William Cox, who had been transferred from Riccarton, was on hand to receive the first pupils. But beyond this establishment of church and school, the township made little immediate progress.

Even before 1856 the locality had been named 'Prebble Town' in whimsical recognition of the tiny group of houses belonging to the two elder Prebbles, their employees and others in the area. This changed into 'Prebbletown' and then finally assumed its modern form of 'Prebbleton'.

William Tosswill went on to serve some 10 years in the Canterbury Provincial Council and distinguished himself as an able and fair-minded country representative in contrast to many of his fellow farmers and runholders.

Like his brother William, John Tosswill also represented Lincoln for a shorter period on the council (1874-76) where he supported his brother in opposition to the majority.

2. *Broadfield*

Another country centre, Broadfield, about three miles south west of Prebbleton and 15 miles from Christchurch, developed rather more slowly.

Most of this area was freeholded during 1860-3, the earlier years of Canterbury's first period of prosperity. Because the soil seemed poor, the land went for the most part to speculators rather than farmers.

However, Antony Hodgson, the first purchaser, was a genuine settler. In September 1860 he bought 100 acres from the crown three miles from Prebbleton on Springs Road. Here he built a house typical of the better buildings of the time: weather boarded outside with inner walls of laths plastered with clay and whitewashed. Three rooms on the ground floor were connected by a steep, narrow staircase to two upstairs bedrooms.

This house became the first centre of the Lincoln district and it was used for an 1864 meeting to elect the first Lincoln Road Board. The Clerk to the Board, Samuel Glyde, leased the house from Hodgson in the following year and then purchased it in 1867. Hodgson went on to build 'an iron house' (probably corrugated iron outside and lined inside) on a 90 acre section he acquired from D.A. Barker on Shands Road.

The land at Broadfield was dry and acknowledged to be poor. The speculators who had secured most of the land were soon offering leases with purchase rights to gullible immigrants. Newcomers seduced by the seemingly easy terms found themselves possessed of 20 or 30 acres of unworked, unfenced land without any water.

Those lucky enough to have tents or some form of shelter and who could obtain water from neighbours put in their crops as soon as possible. They borrowed or hired single-furrow ploughs, sets of harrows and horses and planted wheat to sell and potatoes to eat.

The next step was to build a cob house and thatch the roof with tussock or wheat straw. The first gales tested their new-found skills and left some families homeless again.

By 1868 a local journalist was echoing a popular cry of the times when he criticised local farmers for overcropping. The land, he wrote, was "thoroughly racked out" and covered with sorrell and weeds. He correctly predicted that within a few years a large number of sections would pass into the hands of more competent owners who could afford to work them properly and "restore their exhausted strength".

Patrick Henley was just such a person: buying out small farmers when they failed. By 1903, Henley owned 1500 acres.

Joseph Hunt provides an example of how these failures occurred and how men like Henley were able to prosper. Hunt leased his 70 virgin acres from a speculator who had just paid £140 for it. Hunt's rent was £17-10s a year, providing the owner with an apparently reasonable return of 12.5 per cent on his capital outlay.

A clause in Hunt's lease, however, bound him to pay this rent for seven years and precluded him from purchasing the land before this date. Hunt then had to come up with £350 purchase money or lose everything - including any buildings and improvements.

Add this capital sum to the seven years' rent, and the owner's annual return on his outlay potentially more than trebled. Moreover, Hunt's lease obliged him to 'break up' all the land within the first four years and to 'construct ditch and bank fences all round'. Only good soil and consistently high wheat prices offered any hope of prosperity under such conditions.

Hunt's leased farm proved no better than many in the Lincoln and Templeton Districts; he walked off defeated after only three years.

Henry John Tancred owned the one large holding in the Broadfield area situated at the junction of the Weedons-Ross and Selwyn Roads. This property was made up of five rural sections totalling 1001 acres and Tancred Road, originally six miles long, ran from this farm to the boundary with the Halswell Road District.

Tancred was a runholder, not a farmer, and took no part in local affairs. He devoted himself instead to unpaid service in both the Provincial and New Zealand Governments.

His greatest interest was in education and his record in the Canterbury administration was a particularly honourable one: he served as chairman of the Education Commission and of the Board of Education and became the first Chancellor of the University of New Zealand until his death in 1884.

3. Templeton

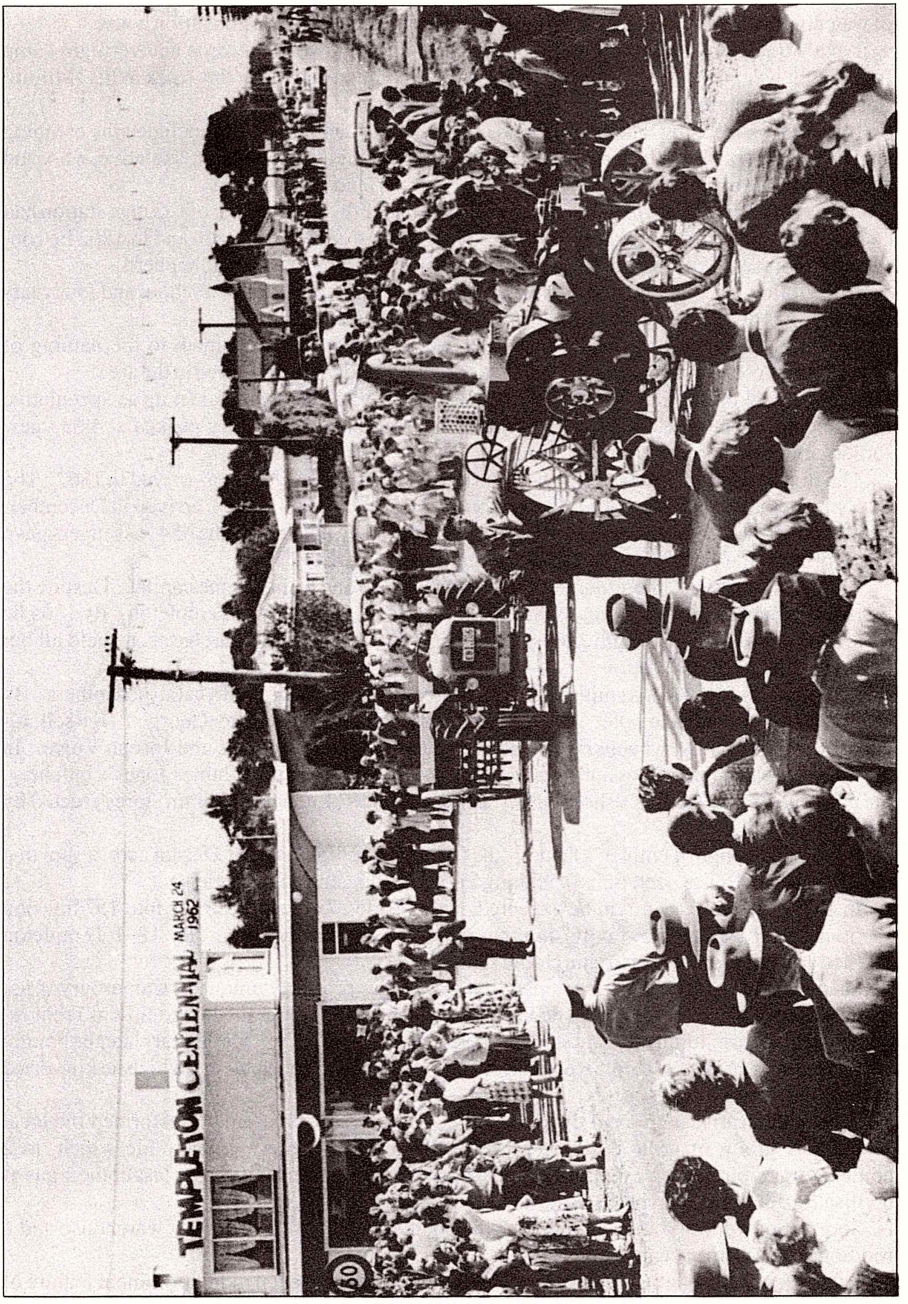
That beauty is in the eye of the beholder is well-illustrated by two early accounts of the Plains country beyond Riccarton. In 1856, Miss Caroline Innes recorded her impressions after a ride out of Christchurch:

> There was not much sign of civilisation beyond Riccarton, and we soon came to a vast grassy plain with nothing to break the monotony but an occasional ti-tree. Our glorious snow-covered mountains formed a background, their white peaks distinctly marked against a blue sky: the sunlight glistening on their snowy sides rendered them a sight which made us feel our adopted country had a beauty and a grandeur peculiarly her own.

Lord Lyttelton's reflections, made at about the same time, were decidedly less flattering:

> It is not easy for the Canterbury pilgrims to forget the desolate appearance presented to their gaze by the plains....Few spots in nature could look more dreary or ugly: they could only comfort themselves by the assurance that it was healthy and hope that in time they might become accustomed to its ugliness.

In the earliest days of settlement, the drover or traveller heading south or west from Riccarton aimed first for the point known as 'Waterholes'. Here two hollows (although only one, 'Ruapuna', meaning two wells, is marked on the 1856 map) provided the only reliable source



Templeton Centenary celebrations: March 1962.

of water before travellers reached the Selwyn River and Lake's accommodation house.

Lake's track, and later the south road, ran past this spot which became an overnight camp for bullock waggon trains. Shortly after 1852 Alfred Lake had made this track to his 'Milton' run just below where the Selwyn and Hawkins Rivers meet.

It is hardly surprising that the first land bought in this neighbourhood included the camping site at Waterholes. The purchaser was Arthur Charles Knight, Jane Austen's relative, who paid £150 for Rural section 424 of 50 acres, but only kept the land for two years.

Across the Great South Road from Knight's ground, Edward Templer of Coringa station had exercised his pre-emptive right in 1860 to buy a 100 acre corner of his run and in 1862 he converted an adjacent 72 acres into freehold to thwart a bid by James Lynch, a shepherd.

In the following year Templer donated an area of nearly two acres for a school and four years later, in June 1867, he donated a similar area to the Anglican Church.

Templer's grant of land for a school led, as far as can be ascertained, to the naming of Templeton. A school was opened before the end of 1863 for the 35 children in the area.

A good deal of the Templeton area seems originally to have been taken up as speculative investments. Nevertheless, by 1863, when immigration to Canterbury peaked at 4,633 new settlers, much of this land had been occupied.

The first of the Bennetts, a family who were to be prominent in the area, arrived in 1862. The man who perhaps did most to give Templeton an identity, Samuel Bailey, arrived in December, 1863 on an ill-fated vessel, the *Brothers Pride.* Forty-six deaths among the 684 passengers gave this ship by far the worst record of any ship coming to Canterbury.

Bailey was an assisted immigrant, but he was over 30 and he had some capital. Despite the harrowing journey to his new land, Bailey soon established himself in Templeton. By 1864 he had set up shop as a blacksmith and by 1875, after a number of land purchases, he held all but the original Waterholes section.

Although Bailey sold his smithy four years later, his example proved a catalyst to others. By 1885 the area contained a hotel, general store and bakery, all owned by George P. Kissell, together with the smithy, wheelwrights and carpenters business of James and Joseph Voice. In the area were also the stables and sheds of Charles Benjamin, carrier, James Jones's butchery, the carpenter's and saddler's shops of E.J. Blake and G.W. Lucock and grain stores erected by Bailey and Voice.

Bailey had bought Templer's land for the surprisingly high price of £82 an acre, a sum that clearly indicated his expectations of making a profit on housing development.

In 1877, therefore, as might be expected, he set aside 27 acres for survey into 157 housing sections and it was on his subdivision that the township slowly grew. By 1891 Templeton boasted 116 people as well as a church and school.

One unusual industry that developed in the area was probably unique in Canterbury if not in the whole of New Zealand. In 1863, a recent 23 year old immigrant named Edwin Trent established in Christchurch the 'first steam coffee mill in Canterbury'. Three years later he bought 150 acres on what is now Trents Road for £712. Here he cultivated chicory which he kiln-dried and ground to mix with his coffee.

Trent's enterprise employed up to a hundred men at peak times and transformed the local scene. A group of large buildings rose in the formerly empty countryside which, to a contemporary journalist's eyes, had "a most bleak appearance and displayed less of the signs of civilisation than any other place within a short distance from the city".

Soon there were two kilns, a large drying shed, a two- storeyed store, a warehouse and a roothouse plus all the usual farm buildings.

Later Trent built a large house with tower which became an even more prominent feature of

the countryside.

The project prospered and chicory production was later also undertaken by James Jones, one of the earliest settlers in the district, who built two kilns on his own farm and also leased two of Trent's kilns and went on to grind and blend coffee with chicory himself.

Trent's Chicory Kiln has survived as a protected historical building.

4. Weedons

Weedons, or rather Toi-toi Gully, was originally a camping place used from 1853 by James Field and his sons on their Run No. 11. In 1857 James Field freeholded 20 acres on the south side of Lake's track - the main route south - and in August 1858 added a further 20 acres on the north side of the track.

Almost immediately, in November, James Main leased these two sections from Field and by the middle of the next year had obtained a licence for an inn to be called the 'Halfway House'. The name referred to its location halfway between Christchurch and Lake's 'Selwyn Hotel'.

Main's initiative was probably inspired by the regular postal services which had by now been established. Other similar public houses appeared along the route at the same time and no doubt also acted as postal centres even before their proprietors had officially been appointed as postmasters.

In 1858, William Baines had accepted a government contract to carry mail between Christchurch and Timaru, starting on alternate Wednesdays from each town. By September 1862, Baines had joined forces with H.D. Manning, who had been delivering goods along the same route. Postal deliveries were now stepped up to 'two horse Yankee coaches' twice a week, and the two partners seemed to have sustained this service, though at a loss, until they were bought out by Cobb and Co in November 1863.

This name was well-known overseas at the time and was consequently adopted by L.G. Cole and his brothers in New Zealand. However, the inevitable end of the coaches with their pioneering flavour came with the advent of the railway line south.

In March, 1861, James Main sold the Halfway House to William Weeden, an enterprising man whose unsettled past had included a variety of occupations. Weeden competed vigorously for custom with George Giggs, who by now had taken over Lake's Selwyn Hotel. Most country houses at the time were little more than drinking dens, but Weeden apparently managed to maintain a good reputation for his inn almost to the end.

In July 1863, however, Weeden was reported as being guilty of 'lambing down'. This delightful term referred to the not so delightful practice of keeping a man drunk until he had spent all his money. Weeden's victim was unfortunately carrying about £20 belonging to his master and after his fling was promptly arrested for embezzlement.

Weeden's next venture, which was to prove his undoing, was his attempt to establish a township. Here he was merely following what so many others at the time were trying to do elsewhere. As he held only 44 acres, he secured an option on a further 137 acres alongside his inn and had the land surveyed into seven streets and some 300 quarter acre sections.

In December 1862 the sections in 'the township of Weeden' were advertised for sale at £10 and £7-10s each. The venture proved a flop. Only four sales were completed and Weeden was soon in financial difficulties. By June 1863 he had to advertise his inn for sale and by the following February the creditors had moved in.

The last that was heard of the man who gave his name to Weedons was that he had become a stationmaster down at Thornbury Junction, Southland.

Weedons Railway Station.

How did Weeden become Weedons? The locality had, in fact, been known first as 'Mains' after the original licensee of the inn, James Main. The township subdivision made it officially 'Weeden', though often spelt 'Weedon'. A signwriter's error in painting the name on the railway station completed the permutation to 'Weedons'.

5. West Melton

A farming district 14 miles west of Christchurch, West Melton's early history has been covered to some extent in the discussion of the early owners of Tresillian and Sandy Knolls. There was a significant difference, however, between pastoral runholders and the commitment of settlers on small farms.

The first real settler was Henry Trickett, a carpenter from Riccarton, who bought 100 acres in August, 1863. Trickett named the district after his home town in the west riding of Yorkshire.

Other early settlers were John Hill, A.C. Truscott, Louis Coutts, Charles Newton, E. Vaughn, A. Sanderson and P. Price. Unlike the large runholders, few of these men had much capital and most ended up with modest properties.

But, driven by a keen desire for independence, this first hardy group - they had their counterparts in the other settlements - successfully accomplished the difficult transition from pastoral grazing on large runs to intensive farming on relatively small farms. It was such men who put down roots and developed a community.

The small farmer faced much tougher challenges than the runholder. For a start the West Melton district suffered from a very uneven rainfall and had no natural water supply. This meant considerable hardship until the water-race system reached the area in 1886.

Although Henry Trickett made available to the district the deep well that he had built, many in the early days had to travel to the river for water. This was usually laboriously carted away in large tanks on the back of drays.

It is no wonder that when the water races reached the area one colonist wrote that "water has changed the whole face of nature in the district, and life that was hardly tolerable, is now worth living".

Timber was expensive because it had to be transported form the Harewood Forest at Oxford and ferried over the Waimakariri at Courtenay. Many of the settlers built their house from the most basic material available: the earth around them.

These sod, or cob, houses characteristically had a thatched roof and a clay floor. The furnishings would be correspondingly basic, comprising some home-made furniture, a camp oven and a few simple cooking utensils. The superior dwellings, like Henry Trickett's, had shingled roofs from which water could be collected.

Two early tracks in the district were the Halkett Road, named after Captain Peter Halkett, and the track between Ross's farm and the inn owned by William Weeden on the Great South Road. This is now known as the Weedons-Ross Road.

An accommodation house was built by James Thompson on the corner of Bealeys and Rolleston Roads in the early 1880s. Thompson provided an area for holding livestock and also hung out the compulsory kerosene lamp at night for late travellers.

6. Hornby

Until as late as 1879, Hornby had no separate identity; it was simply considered an outlying

part of Riccarton. The early history of the area is virtually that of the several large houses which tended increasingly to become the homes or headquarters of important landowners who typically had outside interests.

The first of these houses was 'Ablington', a nine roomed dwelling of weather board backed with cob and matchlined. The house was built by Edward Cooper on the 235 acre farm on Shands Track that he bought from the crown in 1858.

In 1864 the house was acquired by Richard May Morten who renamed the place 'Broadlands' and added a large second storey, extensive stone stables and increased the farm to 420 acres.

For 10 years the house became the centre of Morten's varied business interests which included pastoral leases and freehold on three runs, stone quarries and the management of various Christchurch properties.

In 1874, despite Morten's objections,the railway line to Southbridge was laid across his land and, in an apparent fit of pique, he disposed of house and farm to Edward Amyes for £9,000. Morten was able simply to move across the Old South Road to a 13 room dwelling which he had snapped up at a bargain price two years earlier.

'Stoneycroft', this second noteworthy house, had been built in 1863 by George Alexander Emilius Ross on a 50 acre section bought the previous year.

Ross had arrived in Canterbury in 1851 aged 22 and had worked briefly as a cadet for H.J. Tancred. Expanding his business interests rapidly, Ross went on to run several high country properties in the 1860s including Lake Coleridge and Mount Fourpeaks. He used Stoneycroft as a base to farm 1000 acres of his own in West Melton as well as 1087 acres belonging to his cousin, Captain Peter Halkett of the Royal Navy.

By 1866, though, Ross was over-committed and facing falling wool prices. The heavy snows of 1867 on Mount Fourpeaks Station probably ruined him, for he was declared bankrupt in that same year and it was his misfortune that provided Richard Morten's opportunity.

When Morten subsequently died in 1909, Stoneycroft and its surrounding land was inherited by his son, Arthur Roscoe Vernon Morten, who dismantled the house and built a new one alongside. In 1919 this new building was acquired by the government for use as a mental hospital and was later called 'Hornby Lodge'.

The third large house came to be known as 'Woodcote' and was built by Strickland Field after he had bought 26 acres south of Stoneycroft on the Old South Road in 1866. Strickland was one of the Field brothers associated with the settlement of the Weedons area.

By the late 1860s, though, he too, like Morten and so many others, was in financial difficulties. Woodcote passed through several hands before it was bought in 1878 by Sarah Bassett.

Mrs Bassett was the widow of one of the founders of the engineering firm of Morrow, Bassett and Co., well-known pioneers in the importation of advanced farm machinery. She had the front part of the house moved to another site and built a 20 room mansion around the nucleus that remained. Woodcote later became the residence of her son, Thomas Bassett, who also was in charge of the firm until his death in 1907.

Violet, one of Thomas Bassett's four children was born at Woodcote in 1881. In 1973 she was still able to recall the happy, extravagant, carefree life there that was typical of many substantial 19th century Canterbury landowners. Her memories were of the endless rounds of house parties, of riding to hounds and of attending race meetings where her father was often Clerk of the Course. Thomas Bassett was also a dog breeder and a keen supporter of greyhound racing.

The grounds at Woodcote were tended by Edwin Spicer who had at least one under-gardener

to help him with the extensive garden and ornamental lake.

It was thoroughly characteristic of such an upbringing that Violet should marry into her own kind. Her husband, Richard, was the son of R.M. Morten, and Violet moved with him to Ahuriri Homestead near Tai Tapu, accompanied by her faithful gardener, Edwin Spicer.

Conditions for the rest of the family had changed by then; with Thomas Bassett's death the funds to maintain the splendour of Woodcote had dried up. The family was forced to move into Christchurch and were unable to sell the mansion because it was by now surrounded by workmen's dwellings. The end for the fine old building came not with a whimper, but with the bang of a fire.

A fourth house in the area was not of the same magnitude. James Field went to live on the South Road at the same time as his brother Strickland, buying 12 acres for £880. The Field brothers suffered a change of fortune and by 1875 Robert Reay, a horse trainer, had set up an establishment there which included both stables and the first kennels of the Canterbury (later Christchurch) Hunt Club.

The club's first meet was held from Colonel Packe's house on Middleton Road off Riccarton Road and the second from Woodcote, at that time briefly owned by Charles Barker, the harum-scarum nephew of Dr. A.C. Barker.

In 1880 Robert Reay sold out to Dr. Henry Horsford Prins, a Christchurch surgeon, who raced horses under the appropriate name of 'Henry Horsford'. When Thomas Sheehan was employed as trainer the place became known as 'Crisies Lodge'. The end came in 1897 when George Hamill bought the 12 acres from Dr. Prins for subdivision and sold the house for removal to Shands Road.

When the house was finally dismantled in the 20th century, an interesting feature of colonial ingenuity came to light: the walls were found to be insulated with winnowed wheat chaff. It is no wonder that some of those early houses burnt so fiercely.

The opening of the railway line to Rolleston in October 1866 had little immediate impact, but it was to lead inevitably to denser local settlement. It also led more immediately to the naming of Hornby. The nearest stopping place was at first a flag station, Racecourse, placed as conveniently as possible for patrons of Riccarton Racecourse.

From May 1875 it proved more practical and convenient to move the main stopping place just over a mile further out to where the Southbridge branch line connected. This line had been opened to Ellesmere in April 1875 and extended to Southbridge in July.

This station came to be termed Southbridge Junction, but when a Post Office was opened at the station in July, 1878, the name rapidly caused confusion with Southbridge Township. A new name was accordingly gazetted in September: Hornby Junction. Confusion was again the result because this name was too close to the existing Horndon Junction. The matter was resolved when the latter name was changed to Darfield.

Two familiar Canterbury names therefore came to be established as a result of postal confusion.

Hornby Junction was deliberately sited close to where the Lincoln and Kaiapoi Junction (now Carmen) Road crossed the line so that the Station Master could open and close the crossing gates as required.

From the first the problems of wandering stock seemed to make it necessary to fence the railway line. There were crossing gates already in place at Racecourse (Sockburn), Wanes Crossing (Jeffs Corner), Templeton Station and Weeden (now Weedons).

In fencing the line Canterbury railwaymen had copied the English pattern, but the result was that farmers driving animals often had to detour as much as three and a half miles to cross the line.

A predictably lively conflict ensued between free-spirited settlers who cut fences across roads and the railwaymen who repaired them. The farmers had an ally in John Marshman, the Railway manager, who was often at loggerheads with his engineers.

Marshman declared that "the elaborate array of crossing gates (was) unnecessary" and cited the American practice of allowing unfenced railway lines to run through city streets without apparent danger.

The nocturnal fence-cutting exploits of two settlers in particular - William Annett and James Jones - soon forced Marshman into an experiment at a crossing 10 miles from Christchurch.

Deep pits were dug across the lines on each side of the road and the crossing was then left open. These pits became the forerunners of the cattlestops that ultimately resolved the problem of safety at open crossings. The first such open crossing at what is now Curraghs Road was known, until comparatively recent times, as the 'Yankee Crossing'.

Hornby stands out from the other settlements that have been discussed because its name came before any subdivision. The first attempt at creating a township was made by John Lawson, successor to Marshman as manager of the Canterbury Provincial Railways.

In October, 1878, Lawson divided 10 acres into 54 building sections placed on three roads. But Lawson's attempt to cash in on the land boom came to late, and when he was soon transferred to the North Island, the sections languished in the hands of agents. There were few sales and Hornby with its few large houses and scattered cottages slept on as a farming area for another 20 years.

Transformation started in 1896 when Nelson Brothers, one of the largest firms in the British frozen meat trade, built a freezing works alongside the railway by Carmen Road.

Speculators were quick to scent a potential profit in the anticipated demand for housing sections. Henry Hedge and George Hamill were two who bought up land for subdivision. Although these ventures were not immediately successful they formed the basis of Hornby Township.

Their major subdivision was of 80 sections on 50 acres of land previously part of a dairy farm owned by Dr. W. H. Symes, the later Medical Officer of health for Canterbury. Hedge and Hamill therefore called the subdivision 'Jersey Town'.

Undeterred by the lack of demand for these sections, Hamill went on, in the following, year to subdivide another 12 acres across the railway and alongside Hornby Junction Road (Carmen Road) into 50 sections. He sold very few because Nelson Brothers had come to an arrangement with the Christchurch Meat Company and did not recruit many workers.

The first shop in Hornby was owned by Richard Manhire who bought two of the Jersey Town half acres for 70 pounds. Richard's brother, William Henry Manhire, took over the shop in 1898. William subsequently also became the local postmaster when the new railway station was opened in 1908 and an annex to the store became the Post Office. In 1920 the store was bought by Archibald Still and his family retained it until 1964, when Woolworths bought the site for £35,000.

Samuel Smart and Sons established Hornby's one early industry about 1884: a stone breaking works on a 16 acre property. The demand for road metal, shingle and sand was so great that within five years half of this area was worked to a depth of about 30 feet. This quarrying activity was to become a prominent feature of the later Paparua County.

A less successful feature of the area was the Hornby Settlement. This was the product of the Liberal Government which was in power from 1891 to 1912. Among the most publicised ventures of that government was the purchase of large land areas for sale to farm labourers on easy terms.

Radical members of the Liberal Party soon insisted that town workmen should be offered similar opportunities to secure land - even if only in allotments. Hornby Settlement became

one of 12 such village settlements in the Christchurch area.

The Government purchased the necessary land - 75 acres with a 40 chain frontage on Amyes Road - from J.O. Amyes of Sumner in 1909, two years before the Paparua County was formed. This was part of Richard Morten's Broadlands farm which had subsequently years at low rentals with perpetual right of renewal.

The project was poorly conceived from the start. If the authorities had assumed that the Islington Freezing Works would employ sufficient workers to create a demand for these small sections, they had not done their homework. The work at the freezing works was seasonal, but the busy season coincided with the months when their sections would require most attention.

There were complaints that the Hornby sections were too small to work by machinery and too large to dig. Few applicants came forward, and it was a number of years before all the sections were allotted.

In the meantime departmental files grew thick with reports of Californian Thistle on vacant land. The Hornby Settlement began to look like a relatively inexpensive political gesture rather than a well-conceived policy.

The Hei Hei settlement, also in the vicinity, deserves brief mention because it provides a further example of how official planning can go awry. The settlement was one of many aimed at providing for soldiers returning from the 1914-18 war. This settlement was also ill-considered, but unfortunately far from inexpensive.

The land for these settlements was bought at the inflated values caused by extensive government buying on the open market combined with the competition of returned soldiers buying with their state loans. This meant that the government subsequently had to charge a higher rent on the sections to recoup its outlays.

The land itself was not worth what was paid for it: unlike the Hornby settlement, Hei Hei was on poor, light soil of low fertility and prone to droughts. In some mysterious way these qualifications made the place suitable, in the eyes of officialdom, for poultry farming by men afflicted with tuberculosis.

There was no rush for sections when applications were solicited in March, 1921, nor three months later, when six lots offered at an auction failed to attract a single bid. It was predictable that the settlers who did take up sections and who received loans for housing and poultry keeping equipment would soon be in trouble.

The economic recession of 1922 - the very next year - forced the government to rescue them by grants or the remission of rent. The government was also insensitive enough to reduce the special pensions the T.B. sufferers were entitled to in order to offset the help provided.

CHAPTER THREE

A Major Canterbury Industry

The Hornby and Islington areas - in reality one community - came to be dominated by the early establishment of a large meat exporting industry. This industry became so important not only to the immediate area, but to the larger Canterbury economy that its history deserves a special chapter.

The Canterbury Meat Export Company's plant opened in November 1869. The timing was significant. Wool prices had been falling and wool was Canterbury's most important export. By the late 1860s Canterbury's pastoral runs were fully stocked and there was a large surplus of mutton available. Getting rid of sheep carcases was becoming a problem.

Boiling down works could remove the tallow, for which there was a ready market, but this dealt with only a fraction of the whole carcase. There were reports that some farmers even resorted to driving unwanted stock over cliffs.

New Zealand's isolation from Europe must have seemed to those early farmers a frustrating and insuperable barrier. At the time, the demand for meat in Britain, fuelled by a rapidly growing population and rising standards of living, offered a tantalisingly large potential market.

The first technological breakthrough came in the form of canning. The technology was in its infancy during the 1860s, but was given a considerable boost by the needs of the American Civil War, where canned food made it possible for generals to maintain large armies in the field.

The Australians, who shared similar problems of market remoteness with New Zealanders, had successfully started to can beef, but there was some doubt whether mutton could also be canned.

The Canterbury Meat Export Company was the first company formed in New Zealand for this purpose and registered another first on May 16, 1870, when 121 cases of canned mutton were exported.

Spread over 10 acres alongside the South Railway and what had become known as 'Factory Road' were the company's buildings: slaughter house, preserving plant, tinsmiths' workshop, workmen's accommodation, stables and library.

This impressive group of buildings, situated in what was described as the "desolate, sandy and stony old river bed" stood out prominently in the almost empty countryside. The plant had deliberately been sited remote from houses whose residents might be offended by the smell (in later years the encroachment of houses was indeed going to lead to complaints). By May 1870, 16,656 carcases had been processed: 10,044 of the carcases being preserved and the remainder boiled down.

Despite these apparently impressive numbers, the company soon ran into difficulties. It had been formed by a group dominated by major sheep farmers, but the shareholders were unwilling to back the company sufficiently in the face of the risks involved in marketing to Britain.

Losses caused by defective cans and an over-supplied market were two contributing factors towards the company's collapse after five years in operation.

The property and buildings passed into the hands of the Bank of New Zealand and for the next 13 years the plant was worked only at intervals either for boiling carcases or for preserving mutton. But the next leap in technology - the freezing of meat - was not far off and was to prove far more successful and enduring.

The year 1882 marked the first successful shipment of frozen meat from New Zealand to

London in the vessel *Dunedin.* The depression in England during the '80s hampered the growth of this new industry, but by the end of the decade, Canterbury was ready to exploit the commercial possibilities of this new technology.

At the beginning of 1889, the Canterbury Meat Company's property was taken over by the newly formed Christchurch Meat Company, the second refrigerating business in North Canterbury.

The partners in this private concern wasted no time. In February they sent a trial shipment mainly of lamb to Lyttelton where it was frozen on board specially chartered ships. The meat fetched good prices in London.

By April their own new freezing works building at the Islington site was ready. Situated to the north of the other buildings, 'The Factory' as it was called locally, ended up as an impressive structure 400 feet long.

The new partners decided to give their new works a distinctive name and successfully applied to have the railway siding changed from Factory to 'Islington'. It took longer, however, for the new name to be recognised for mail or directory purposes: this was only accomplished in 1904 when a Post Office was opened in the township.

Islington Township, which grew up near the plant, was at first very much a company affair. At the very start most of the men employed were billetted in the old accommodation house. But towards the end of 1889 the company bought 25 acres of land and laid out part of the area in two streets and 41 quarter-acre building sections.

It offered these sections to employees at £25 each, with a downpayment of £2-10s and the balance over three years. Conditions were that a house must be built and that the company's permission was required before re-sale.

The company was not overwhelmed by employees rushing to take advantage of these conditions and consequently had to build a number of houses for the men itself.

The company had nothing to do with the enlargement of the township. This was the initiative of a private developer who in 1914 subdivided an additional 45 acres. In keeping with the name, Islington, he gave more London names to the streets and called the new area 'Paddington'. The adjacent part of Factory Road became 'Waterloo Road' but this name was not used until the Post Office requested its adoption in 1945.

By 1897 Islington had increased its annual stock killing by 50 per cent and was employing 500 people. It was well on the way to becoming the largest concern of its kind in New Zealand.

Competition came in the form of a second freezing works in 1897 built alongside Hornby station. Nelson Brothers, one of the biggest companies in the British frozen meat trade, had been repulsed twice before in Timaru and in Dunedin. Their third attempt at gaining a foothold in the South Island was only partially successful.

Their plant was under the control of the Engineer, James Nairn, and was quite substantial: it was designed to freeze 2,000 sheep a day and store 60,000 sheep or 80,000 lamb carcases. But instead of entering into competition with the Christchurch Meat Company, an action which would have benefitted the farmers at the expense of the shareholders, Nelsons preferred to negotiate.

The Christchurch Meat Company agreed to buy, kill and deliver 60,000 sheep and lambs a year to Nelsons on condition that Nelsons did not itself purchase stock.

By 1912, Nelsons found this arrangement insufficiently profitable and leased its plant to the Christchurch Meat Company for £2,000 a year with the proviso that the Tyser Shipping Line retain annual carriage of 200,000 carcases. The Meat Company did not use the refrigerating facilities, but found the storage space invaluable for the demand caused by the 1914-18 war.

In 1920 the Meat Company, now having adopted the name of its subsidiary, the New Zealand

Refrigerating Company, bought the Nelson works for £20,000. It is said that William Nelson, head of the business in New Zealand, got this sum by a clever ruse: he let it be known that a large American concern was making enquiries about purchase. The end of the Nelsons plant came in 1936, when the buildings were sold for a nominal sum and demolished.

CHAPTER FOUR

Lifeblood of the Plains

1. The Waimakariri and Water Problems

For the first 20 years of the Canterbury settlement, Christchurch lived under threat of flooding from the Waimakariri River to the north of the city. Like many of the South Island's alpine rivers, the Waimakariri could change rapidly from a steady flow to a raging torrent.

Over thousands of years its braided streams had wandered at will from the mountains down across the plains to the sea. The river threatened the city, but it also held the key to farming on the dry, hot plains.

The whole northern area of what became Paparua County was described by the first arrivals as 'old riverbed'. Clearly distinguishable across this area were two dry channels that acted as natural spillways for the flooded river. One channel aimed itself at Christchurch whilst the second branched south east through the present Islington towards the Halswell River.

It seems uncertain whether water actually flowed along this second channel after 1850, but the chief provincial surveyor, Thomas Cass, certainly warned settlers about the dangers of building in it.

The first channel was cause for greater alarm and was filled on several occasions. W.B. Bray, an engineer turned runholder, is remembered today chiefly through a contemporary verse:

> At Avonhead lived a Mr Bray
> Who every morning used to say
> I shouldn't be much surprised today
> If Christchurch City were swept away
>
> *(Canterbury Rhymes)*

Bray's predictions might have been fulfilled if the great flood of a century later had occurred at this time. As it was, the local citizenry responded only reluctantly to his warnings.

In 1854 a small overspill from the river took place in the extreme morth-western corner of the county near Watson's Halfway Accommodation House at Halkett. This prompted the Provincial Government to build the first large protective embankment in 1858 to divert the stream towards the northern bank.

In the following year the river threatened to break out four miles downstream close to Thomas Rowley's Sandy Knolls homestead. The Provincial Council immediately ordered a second embankment and this was hurriedly built.

W.B. Bray and other engineers subsequently suggested further protective works, but the Provincial Council rejected these as too costly. It had its own panel of engineering experts who considered the river was unlikely to inconvenience the city.

In 1863 the river flooded down the one dry channel almost to Edward Templer's Coringa homestead. Even then a Provincial Council committee, chaired by Templer himself, recommended that no action be taken. The main current in the river was thought to be moving northward. Edward Templer no doubt changed his mind two years later on Christmas Day, 1865, when he awoke to find his house completely surrounded by water.

But it took the great flood of early February 1868 to put an end to the Provincial Government's indecisive action. Torrential rain fell for 24 hours and the river flowed bank to bank. Water poured into the Avon and over its banks until Market (now Victoria) Square was three feet deep in places.

This disaster at last roused the city. The Provincial Council lost no time in making the necessary request to Parliament and the Canterbury Rivers Act of 1868 was passed. Under this Act the Provincial Government established the South Waimakariri River District covering the area likely to be affected by overflow into the Halswell, Avon and Styx basins.

The River Board had rating powers and was therefore unpopular; the Templeton Road Board was just one local body to protest against its charges. But it could claim success in July 1871 when a flood larger than that of 1868 did not affect the south bank of the river.

The board inherited major protective works at three places: opposite Watson's Accommodation House near Halkett, at Sandy Knolls and near Allan McLean's Ashfield homestead. The board appointed J. Crawford as Temporary Engineer and he immediately started further work at Watson's.

The most serious erosion soon appeared at Sandy Knolls. One groyne after another was built, but each time the current attacked the bank further upstream and threatened to outflank all efforts. The board began the planting of gorse and broom in 1869 and of willows in 1871. By 1874 concrete slabs and concrete in woolsacks were replacing timber boxing. In time it became apparent that the stream had moved its attack to the northern bank.

By 1880, after the dissolution of the Provincial Government, the Board of Conservators came to be seen as a relic of provincial rule. More important, the board was unpopular because it possessed rating powers and yet was not an elected body. At the end of 1880 it had been replaced by a new, popularly elected body of nine members, the South Waimakariri River Board.

The new board was not particularly active. Its most appreciated achievement during the economic depression of the time was the cheeseparing attitude it adopted. Rating charges were reduced because no honorariums were paid to members and staff salaries were reduced.

Despite these economies, in the early years the board still achieved some notable work on the 14,000 acres of reserves along 24 miles of river that the crown had granted it. The board planted 40,000 poplars and 6,300 English trees.

Less fortunately, the planting of gorse and broom continued until the end of the century. More successful were the experiments with groynes pointing upstream. Altogether some 20 groynes and stopbanks were constructed along the 14 miles of Paparua County boundary.

The new board, like its predecessor, found its work restricted at first by the opposition and abuse it received from various self-constituted bodies around Christchurch.

A great flood was again needed to change attitudes. This came in 1926, when 195,000 cusecs of water tore down the river. (This figure can be compared, for instance, with the moderate flow of 1,000 cusecs measured in March 1973).

The ratepayers needed no further persuasion to vote for a loan of £100,000. Although this was only half the sum requested, it still enabled the board to carry out an extensive programme.

The chief work was to narrow the river above Coutts Island and to cut a channel through the island. The engineers narrowed the river-bed by constructing a mile and a half long embankment at the east end of McLeans Island. They also raised and completed the bank from Halkett along to Harewood, built a massive groyne at Thompson's stopbank and in the north diverted the Eyre into the Waimakariri.

Gangs of unemployed men were used during the 1930's depression to build the embankment at Mcleans which was 10 feet high, eight feet broad at the top and 48 feet wide at the base. As

the aim was to force the unemployed to work for their relief payments, only the simplest tools such as shovels and wheelbarrows were used. Even so, the work had to be rationed. A married man with one child, for instance, worked eight days a month, spent the equivalent of another day travelling to and from the work, and received a total of £5-12-6d.

Other advantages besides assisting the unemployed and river control were secured by this great embankment. It had the effect after some years as the channel silted up, of making McLeans, Templers and Bailes Islands part of the southern bank. In recent years the former bank of the river at McLeans Island has been developed, with large areas allotted to many sporting and hobby organisations.

2. The Water-Race System

Artesian water could easily be obtained in the early days of settlement up to four miles west and south of Christchurch. This area encompassed the sources of the Styx, Avon, Heathcote and Halswell Rivers where the ground was often 65 feet above sea level and 45 feet above Cathedral Square. But beyond this the dry plains stretched to the county boundaries.

Many of the first homesteads were accordingly built close to the Waimakariri River. Settlers on these westward plains had otherwise to rely entirely on rain water. Because many of these farms were hundreds of feet above sea level, most settlers at first thought that wells would be out of the question.

A few instances proved them wrong. James Main, for example, built his Halfway Accommodation House early in 1859 and depended entirely on his rain water tanks. But in 1862 his successor, William Weeden, was more enterprising and found "a bountiful supply of water from a well dug to 57 feet only", although the well itself was 166 feet above sea level.

Other settlers followed suit. The first wells were square shafts with hardwood sides. The later, improved versions were circular and bricked and the workmen took a justifiable pride in their construction.

In the 1880s more modern methods of pipe sinking were introduced and costs fell. By the turn of the century most farmers obtained their drinking water from windmills.

During the previous decades, though, the lack of water had proved a real handicap to settlement. Wells provided only a partial solution: far greater supplies of water were needed if sheep numbers were to increase.

The origins of the water-race systems on the Canterbury Plains can be traced back to the vision of Colonel De Renzie James Brett of Kirwee, a town he named after a fort in India he had captured during the Indian Mutiny.

Colonel Brett had seen irrigation schemes in India and visualised a system of water races covering the whole of the Canterbury Plains. His ideas were at first ridiculed because people imagined that water would simply percolate through the shingle beds that underlie the Plains.

But in 1869 the first water races in Mid Canterbury were constructed by Charles Reed, who had formerly owned Tresillian, on the Westerfield run in the Ashburton district. Successful stock water-race systems were soon constructed in other Canterbury districts such as Courtenay and Malvern.

By 1883, the Templeton Road Board had co-operated with other districts in engaging Edward Dobson and Son, an engineering firm from Christchurch, to report on a water-race system from the Waimakariri for the Springs, Lincoln and Templeton Districts.

The firm recommended that the headworks should be placed at No. 1 groyne near Halkett where the stream was close to the bank. The intake design consisted of a perforated iron pipe

lying on the saturated shingle of the river bed. It was calculated to deliver 12 million gallons a day.

Progress was retarded both by the economic depression at the time and local body friction over cost sharing, but by the middle of 1887, four years after the Templeton Road Board had first proposed a water supply scheme, the reticulation of the district was complete.

The first charges levied were 25 shillings a year for each 100 acres or part thereof. After the smaller runholders had objected, a special rate of 12s-6d was substituted for properties under 100 acres. In the early days, many farmers used the water race for their domestic supply as well as for their stock.

Over the years the Waimakariri seems to have done its best to thwart efforts to maintain a steady flow into the water-race system. The original headworks at Halkett proved less satisfactory than anticipated. During floods the stream frequently moved northwards at this point, leaving the intake dry. The maintenance crew had to use scoops and shovels to persuade the river to resume its original bed.

To avoid the inconvenience and labour involved the committee in 1903 ordered the construction of an auxiliary intake at Sandy Knolls groyne. But here again the stream which had previously seriously eroded the banks moved away when its presence was required. By 1909 the County Engineer, Donald Paterson, decided that the Sandy Knolls intake was unusable.

Various protective works built over the years have managed to exercise some controls over the wandering streams although the unpredictably erratic nature of the river probably precludes any perfect solution. Bulldozers have had to work several miles upstream at times to restore the flow.

In the end a concrete dam built back at No. 1 groyne during the 1930s by county workmen has proved the most successful of all. By 1939 this intake was feeding 210 miles of water race in the Paparua County.

The open water races can be attractive in places, but are also inefficient, losing water both to evaporation and to percolation. Although it would be very difficult to measure the water loss by percolation, County Engineers have found sections where the water suddenly just disappears into the ground. The open races also encourage plant growth which has to be periodically controlled.

In spite of two sedimentation ponds at the intake, fine silt still finds its way down the races. This is very much a mixed blessing: the silt helps to seal those portions of the race that are porous, but it also builds up in the race and the spoil periodically has to be removed.

Since the spoil is made up of rock dust it is not as fertile as one might imagine. In latter years the races have been mechanically cleaned and the spoil carted away to cover county rubbish tips.

CHAPTER FIVE

Wood, Swamp and Stone

In 1968, Paparua County was substantially enlarged by the addition of an area to the south that had become known as Halswell County. This area was named after Edmund Storr Halswell, QC, a committee member of the Canterbury Association.

Unlike most of the men so honoured, Edmund Halswell had actually been in New Zealand briefly in the early 1840s. He had served as Commissioner of Native Reserves for the New Zealand Company, and had also been a Magistrate and County Judge in the Wellington district.

The district named after him forms an attractive area that from the early days gained settlers drawn by the timber and stone resources on the Port hills as much as by the fertile potential of the swampy flatlands.

The Halswell and Tai Tapu areas have their own distinctive histories and these will now be outlined to the formation of the Halswell County in 1911.

1. The Halswell Road District

The Halswell (originally South Heathcote) Road District lay along the northern and western flanks of the Port Hills from Dyers Pass Road to Cooper's Knobs. Its other boundaries were Dunsford's Valley Road from the summit to the Halswell River, and the reserve between the Halswell and Heathcote Rivers which had been set aside for a possible canal.

The district covered almost exactly the 15,000 acres of the Lansdowne Run. By 1863, just 5,759 acres, or little more than a third of this area had been freeholded. There were only a total of 138 properties, held by 52 ratepayers. Four large estates carved out of the run took up the greater part of this freehold land.

Almost all the remaining properties were small sections in valleys and even along the summit ridge. These small properties were bought to exploit the local timber resources and lay especially between Worsley and Kennedys Bush Roads as well as further along the summit to Cass Peak. A total of seven roads running up to the summit ridge were built by 1863 to provide access to the timber.

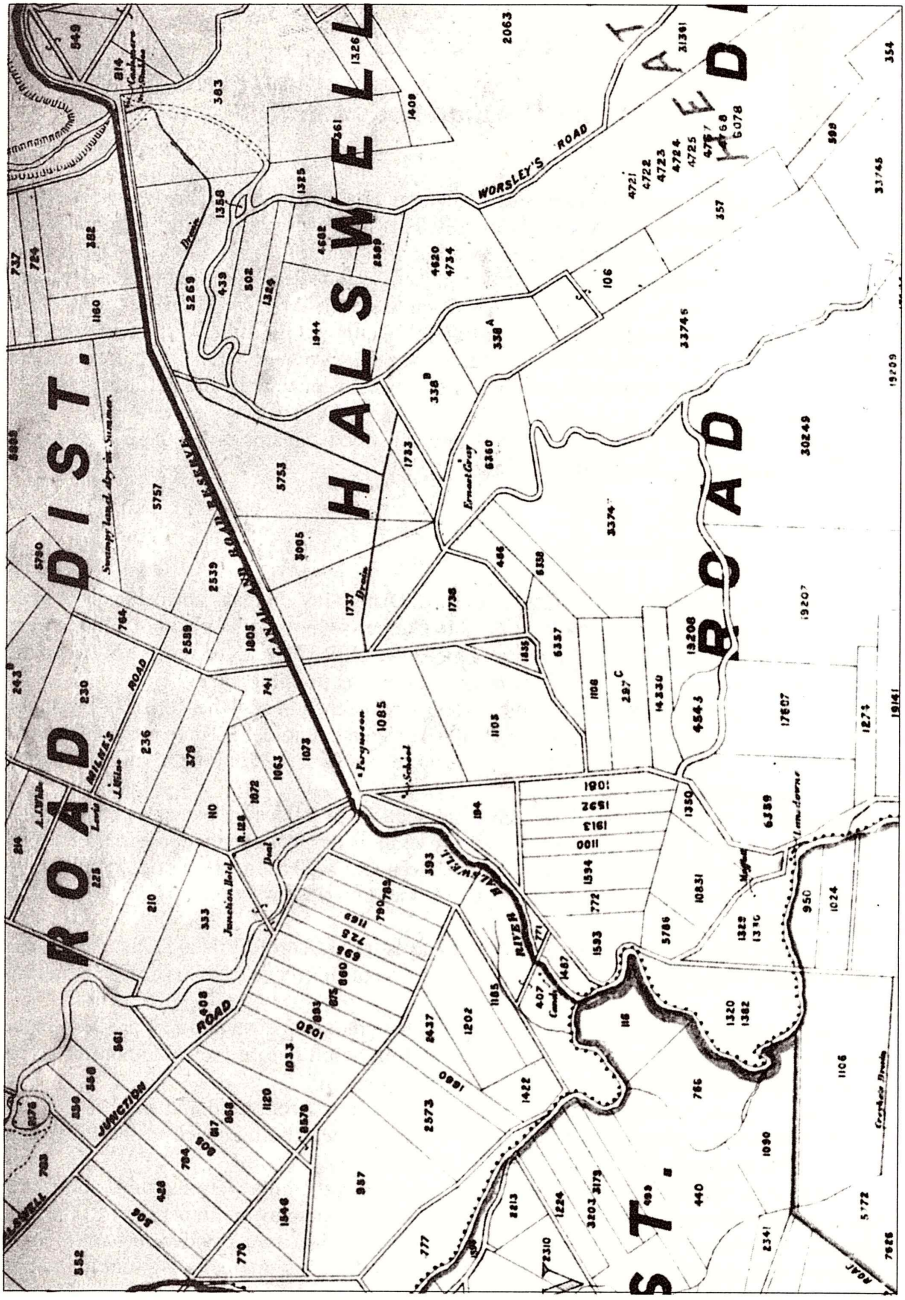
The best known of the four large properties today is John Cracroft Wilson's Cashmere estate which he established between 1853-55 during a period of sick leave from his duties in India as a magistrate.

To the west of Cashmere, Henry John Cridland held the second, an 800 acre property in the Hoon Hay Valley. Cridland had arrived from Wellington before the settlement to act as superintendent of public works to the Canterbury Association.

The next owner, Ernest Gray, apparently bought direct from Cridland in 1866. Gray immediately became a member of the Road Board and was both elected to the Provincial Council and appointed to the Legislative Council in that same year.

To the south of where the Halswell River approaches the hills were the third and fourth estates, Lansdowne and Vale Royal. Lansdowne was taken up by William Guise Brittan and worked in partnership with Michael John Burke until 1860 when it was divided between them.

Brittan held many land orders from the Canterbury Association, including four in the first hundred. His earliest purchases on the Lansdowne Run were at Hoon Hay and Kennedys Bush.



Halswell District 1884.

In 1857, soon after the price of land was reduced to £2 an acre, he also bought two sections in the angle on the west bank of the Halswell.

Here he built a third large house when he went to live on the run around 1860. By the time that Brittan had given up farming in 1866 he owned a freehold estate of 600 acres in the vicinity and was regarded as the most important man in Halswell.

But if Brittan made money quickly, he also spent it lavishly. By 1866 his affairs were already in the hands of the bank. A depressed property market forced the bank to hold on to the property for a number of years.

It was not until 1873 that the property was bought by Edward Stafford. Having been premier of New Zealand for over half the period since self-government was gained in 1855, Stafford was the most eminent man to live in the district. He sat on the local Road Board, except when he was absent in Parliament, from 1874 to the beginning of 1878, when he left for England and a knighthood.

By contrast with his ex-partner Brittan, Burke appears to have concentrated his buying very largely on the Lansdowne Run. He favoured especially the bushed areas on the hills and the 'Big Swamp' as an official list of sections at the time described the flatter land. Burke's choice demonstrates that not all the colonists who had drawn the right to make early selections of rural land chose areas closest to the city in the hope of making the quickest profits.

Yet Burke's first choice, R.S. No.51, eight miles from Christchurch on the banks of the swampy Halswell, does seem unusual. There were two possible reasons for it. Firstly, an Irishman could be trusted to foresee the value in a bog once it had been drained, and secondly, he was soon able to turn Burkes Bush into a valuable source of timber. Burke went on to build his Vale Royal homestead about half a mile from Lansdowne.

The first Road Board for the district therefore resembled others in the province by including most of the prominent runholders who also owned freehold land. William Guise Brittan was chairman and the other members were Cracroft Wilson, Henry Cridland, Michael John Burke and Charles Clark. Only Clark was not a runholder; he had been a Halswell farmer with 75 acres, but later joined Isaac Luck in a land agency and auctioneering business.

Two members were elected to the House of Representatives while they were still on the Board. The first of these was Charles Lewis, who deserves mention not only because he was very much a Halswell man, but also because he provided some of the only excitement in the usually placid life of the board.

Born in Canterbury in 1857, Charles Lewis lived in Halswell from the age of five and after his father's death in 1874 he inherited Halswell House farm near the township which he renamed 'Oaklands'. Young, intelligent and witty, he soon came to object to the methods of the older board members whom he christened 'The Old Gang'. Although the correspondence has not been found, it is said that he carried on a newspaper campaign against them and used such strong language that they successfully sued him for libel.

In 1889 Lewis stood for a seat on the board and was defeated. He immediately brought a petition to upset the election and was easily able to show that there had been irregularities. At the following election he was successful and remained a member until he left the district in 1906. The minutes give no indication that he reformed or particularly enlivened the meetings, but he proved a very acceptable chairman from 1901 to 1906.

Parliament gave him better scope. He fought his first campaign in 1896 with the utmost confidence and was returned for Liberal Christchurch. The *Lyttelton Times* reported in 1903 that he was regarded in the House as "one of the really witty members...a man of quick perception, of ready tongue, capable of sharp satire, of aggravating banter...but with the sense to be humorous only when there was occasion for it". The *Times* went on to praise him for his "real

interest in social problems''.

Robert Heaton Rhodes was the second person to be elected to parliament. Rhodes joined the board in 1894 soon after he bought Graycliffe, which he renamed 'Otahuna', from H.F. Gray. Rhodes was elected for Ellesmere in 1899 after some initial lack of success against the surging liberal tide. He was a Minister of the Crown both before and after the 1914-18 war and was knighted. He later served two terms in the Legislative Council and for a time was its leader. The courtly Rhodes was a prominent figure in both provincial and national life.

The attention of the Halswell Road District Board was devoted almost equally to road construction and to the various problems of drainage.

The road pattern was relatively simple: two roads were constructed around the hills, one close to the rivers and the other along the foot of the spurs above the swamp. Other roads ran into the valleys and, as already noted, seven reached or almost reached the summit ridge, forming in parts a summit road just below the present scenic highway.

The most unusual feature of these roads was the number that were closed when they had served their purpose. Examples of these are two of the three Burkes Bush roads and several between Kennedys Bush and Worsleys Roads. Other roads along the lower slopes were no longer needed when the adjacent flats were properly drained and could bear roading.

There was a greater need for properly constructed highways in this swampy area than on the drier plains that made up most of the other areas of Paparua County. Consequently the same charge of makeshift methods cannot be levelled against Halswell. The abundance of local quarries for supplies of crushed metal offered less temptation to use cheaper alternatives such as river shingle.

Construction and repairs were usually done by contractors, but the board's own labour gang became increasingly important. Landowners sometimes offered to pay for roads and much repair work was also done by ratepayers who offered their services or, having made complaints, were asked to maintain the road in question at a stated cost. This was often a satisfactory method of dealing with hill roads used by few.

Drainage was probably a more important problem for the Halswell Board at first. In the year that the board was established, Cracroft Wilson had made arrangements with the Provincial Council for the draining of the great Cashmere swamp. Wilson, Cridland and C.C. Bowen contributed £50 each towards the total cost of £360. Nevertheless, keeping this locality relatively free from surface water remained a problem for the board.

Most drains were privately constructed and the board took them over only under special circumstances. But the board often had to adjudicate when channels carried water from a higher property to a lower one. The frequent complaints of this nature during the early days perhaps prove that the board was not remiss, instead it probably did more than was usual for its ratepayers.

Moreover, the success of the board's system of large public drains was demonstrated by the number of requests to deepen them. On June 28, 1866, for example, the board received a letter from ''Mr. Thos Robinson drawing the board's immediate attention to the state of his ditches which have not been cleared out for years and that as a consequence he is flooded out in most of his paddocks''. After the clerk had inspected the drains, the board resolved ''that the work be done as soon as the amount for special drainage is paid''.

Keeping the two rivers clear was expensive. The chief cause of blockage was watercress, apparently introduced by colonists. During the 1870s, if not later, the rivers were cleared three times a year: in May, October and February.

Contractors were not always careful, and quantities of weed floated downstream to annoy the Heathcote River Board on one side and Tai Tapu and Little River on the other. Careless-

ness resulted in protests, complaints to the Selwyn County Council and attempts to charge Halswell with the extra cost.

In later years the willows growing on the banks caused blockages and there was also the occasional pollution problem from Gardiner's flax works which had by now been established in the district.

Like the other boards, Halswell depended for funds upon hand-outs from the Provincial Government. For a small, thinly populated district Halswell was treated generously, possibly because the important road to Akaroa passed through the district. During the whole provincial period the district received nearly £14,000; this was much more in proportion to area and rateable value than Lincoln or Templeton received.

After the end of the Provincial Government in 1876 the board maintained itself by a rate of 3/4d in the pound, which brought in about £1000, by government grants for special works, a 10 per cent subsidy on rates and by the income from sundry licence fees and other receipts.

By this time almost all the district had been bought from the crown. Forty miles of roads had been constructed and the small sections had, by now, largely been consolidated into farms: 64 ratepayers now held 68 separate properties. There were 70 dwellings and about 350 people, but the villages, churches and hotels serving the district lay outside it.

In May 1885, boundary changes significantly altered Halswell's standing among the other road districts. The area added was relatively small, but it was on the flat where farms were small. The rate roll increased from 72 to 200, the population grew to 938 and the number of dwellings doubled to 161.

2. *Halswell Township*

The Township at Halswell does not seem to have been officially recognised until the 1961 census. Yet the position of Halswell made it an early possibility for a rural centre. By 1857 the Provincial Government had already set land aside here for a church and school.

Soon afterwards the 'Lincoln Road' was metalled to the five mile peg from the town belt. In 1860 a sale was advertised at 'St Mary's on the Halswell', and was presumably held on the reserved land. In 1861, two years before the church itself was opened, Edward Morgan opened a short-lived boarding school opposite the church site.

Halswell first appeared as a centre in the 1868 edition of a business directory, the *Southern Provinces Almanac.* The names of 19 tradesmen were listed, but as three hotels were also included, the entry clearly covered the whole area from Spreydon to Tai Tapu.

Towards the end of 1867 - too late for mention in the *Almanac* - Egerton Nennis established his Halswell Flax Company. This was the second such venture in Canterbury and exploited some hundreds of acres of flax on the south bank of the river 10 miles from Christchurch on Burkes Run. By Christmas of the same year the factory was producing sufficient to warrant a visit by the Superintendent, William Sefton Moorhouse, and a party of 20 other gentlemen including Michael John Burke.

Two years later in 1869 the factory employed 25 men. There were now six stripping machines through which the leaf was drawn and crushed by 14 beaters as it passed over rollers. The fibre was then washed and dried outside. During the last three months of 1868, for example, 60 tons were sent through to Christchurch. Not surprisingly there were soon complaints that the upper portion of the Halswell River was so polluted with pieces of flax that it was unfit for use. Wool washing in the river also added to the problem.

James Gardiner developed a second successful flax and rope works on the main road near

Glover's Road. This undertaking involved the whole process from the grean leaf to the finished product; it boasted a rope walk almost a hundred yards long. The concern was well-managed and continued to make rope until about 1895.

But more important than flax to the early establishment of Halswell was the quarry. This progressed through six changes of ownership over the years.

The quarry was opened on what was formerly known as Rock Hill by James Feather and James Forgan in the late 1850s. The quarry was then taken over by William Guise Brittan who freeholded the site out of his run in 1862.

A few years later, the Lincoln Tramway Company bought the quarry and transported the stone by drays to the Sunnyside Hospital corner where it was loaded onto waggons. These ran on wooden tramlines laid along the Lincoln Road in 1864.

A local contractor, William Hole, took over the quarry in 1886 and formed the Halswell Quarry Company in 1890. In 1901 a public company was created and Edward Paterson from Scotland was appointed manager. Paterson, later chairman of Halswell County, retired as manager in 1938. The quarry was finally acquired by the Christchurch City Council in 1925.

The quarry developed into one of the largest in New Zealand and supplied considerable roading material over the years. It is also noted as the source of the fine blue-grey stone used in a number of prominent Christchurch buildings such as the Provincial Council building, the Sunnyside Hospital, the Robert McDougall Art Gallery and the Sign of the Takahe.

After 1900 the Halswell population began to increase more rapidly. When the Road District was abolished in 1911, there were 320 ratepayers and a population of 1315 living in 332 houses. Halswell township was starting to develop.

Cashmere was also developing into a residential suburb of Christchurch; the city tramway reached the foot of the hills in 1898. The trustees of the Cashmere estate were preparing to sell residential sections and wanted roads made.

The feeling in predominantly rural Halswell was that the district would be well rid of this expensive western end. Change was therefore in the air when the Halswell Board approached Tai Tapu which agreed to join it in forming a county.

3 The Tai Tapu Road Board

There are various interpretations for the name of this area. 'Tapu' can mean either 'sacred', 'solemn' or possibly 'boundary'. 'Sacred water' seems to be the favoured interpretation.

The Tai Tapu Road District separated from Little River in 1884. The area lay between the Halswell River and the summit ridge and extended from Dunsford's Valley Road (Rhodes Road) almost to Gebbie's Valley. It was one of the smallest districts with only 51 ratepayers and a total population in 1885 of 324.

Valuations in the district progressed steadily during the 27 years that Tai Tapu exercised separate local control from £95,000 in 1885-6 to £164,000 in 1910. Nevertheless there were only a few more ratepayers at the end of this period and only 30 more people living in the district. Although Tai Tapu itself was called a township, the 1911 census noted only 20 people living in it.

The separation of Tai Tapu from Little River illustrates a common feature of Road Board history in the Canterbury region. Whenever ratepayers in one part of a district suspected that they were not being as well treated as they deserved, or felt they could make better use of the available finance, they were able, through a simple petition, to secure a separate district and board of their own.

These manoeuvres undoubtedly offered some grounds for charges of parochialism and the pursuit of narrow interests. For example, separation was also desired in some cases because it offered an escape from contributing towards the expense of a main road. Tai Tapu, however, probably had a better reason than most for requesting separation.

Tai Tapu faced essentially different problems from the valleys and hills of the south end of the Little River district. It shared instead with the Springs, Lincoln and Halswell districts the common problems of the drainage and control of the Halswell River, the Ahuriri lagoon and Lake Ellesmere. Tai Tapu's request to transfer to Selwyn County, which was prepared to subsidise works benefitting the whole area, was therefore a logical move.

The minutes reveal that the Tai Tapu Board members, like their Halswell counterparts, spent more time discussing problems connected with drainage and the Halswell River than they devoted to roads. There were arguments about which drains were public, which private, and who was responsible in each case. The greater number of requests from ratepayers was for relief from flooding.

The chief drain was the Halswell River itself; the condition of the river and its banks therefore caused far more annoyance than the state of the artificial channels. Some of the disputes between Tai Tapu and Halswell over the cleaning of the river have already been mentioned. In time, the conflicts over a river that ran through several districts forced the Selwyn County Council to take over the cleaning and clearing work on the whole length of the river.

In 1903 the county operated a steam operated grab dredge on the river. This was apparently fixed to a steel pontoon with another smaller pontoon attached. On this second pontoon was a wooden whare in which lived the two operators, 'Jimmy Strachan and George Birmingham'. The pontoon floated downstream from Tai Tapu doing its cleaning work and then had to be taken back by road.

The Tai Tapu Board decided early on that the dredge was not performing satisfactorily and asked the Selwyn Council to put a man with local knowledge in charge. Even this change did not seem to produce results. By August 1905, the board was begging for double shifts "so that the long suffering ratepayers may before long see some of their holdings". The board told the County Council that its new methods had been a "total failure" since the river, blocked by weeds and watercress, was 18 inches higher than in any previous summer.

Fewer disagreements arose over bridges, although traction engine traffic made demands that the board ignored at its peril. This was demonstrated in 1886 when a fault in Perkin's bridge threw McVeigh's engine and combine into the river. McVeigh promptly threatened to sue for £9 damages for every day that his equipment was out of action.

A special meeting of the board had to be called and the upshot was an agreement to pay £30 rather than go to law. No doubt the board paid greater attention to bridge maintenance as a result. Contemporary photographs certainly show that the traction engines pulled some enormous waggons over these bridges.

As in Halswell, roads were generally better constructed than in districts on the plains because broken metal was more extensively used. But, as in other districts, there is no evidence until well into the present century that highways were designed or built according to any system, let alone tarred.

One special feature of the roading in this district deserves mention. In 1909, Heaton Rhodes and Harry Ell, Members of Parliament for Ellesmere and Christchurch respectively, interviewed the Tai Tapu Chairman and suggested "closing some of the useless roads on the hills". This approach formed part of Ell's campaign to provide walking tracks, roads and recreation areas on the port hills. Ell considered that the sale of unwanted roads could provide useful funds for purchasing reserves.

In this same year of 1909, Ell also formed the Summit Road Association and his project was substantially furthered by landowners who not only gave permission for the planned scenic road to cross their properties but in some instances donated land. In the Tai Tapu district, for example, Heaton Rhodes gave seven acres at Cass Peak, and Richard M.D. Morten donated 27 acres of Ahuriri bush.

Keeping roads clear of wandering stock was a perennial problem. The minutes reveal that the board maintained a pound. Several rangers were hired and then fired. The pay offered: £3 a year with droving fees was hardly calculated to inspire any great devotion to duty.

One ranger asked for a fixed salary of 10 shillings a week in place of payment by results. As an indication of how meagre the 'results' probably were, the board promptly baulked at this extravagance but agreed to a shilling a head for impounded horses and cattle, 10 shillings for attendance at the Magistrate's Court and also to £2 bonus by way of encouragement. The man resigned.

The poundkeeper, who then acted as temporary ranger, fared little better when he sent in an account for driving in 99 head of horses and cattle at a shilling each. The board refused to pay on the basis that he was receiving other remuneration.

It is no wonder that these tight-fisted tactics sometimes seemed to cause desperation. At the February meeting in 1900, for example, the board "resolved...to ask the Constable (at Tai Tapu) to pay some attention to the cattle nuisance on the roads, as this board, although employing a ranger...is unable to cope with the difficulty".

Another challenge that beset most country boards was to reduce the number of small birds. In 1870, wheat, oats and barley crops on the Canterbury Plains were attacked by millions of caterpillars and some of the crops were completely destroyed.

Two years after this in 1872 the Acclimatisation Society introduced various English birds in an attempt to beat the menace. The birds finished off the caterpillars and then turned their attention to the delights of ripening grain. By the 1880s the experiment had turned sour and for more than 30 years Canterbury districts struggled to contain the explosion of small birds.

The Selwyn County Council encouraged Sparrow Clubs and provided sparrow traps for the elimination of these pests. It subsidised all expenditure on poisoned grain and paid as much as a shilling a dozen at times for heads and eggs of blackbirds, starlings and other small birds. The board supported county policy in this regard. It seems from the correspondence on this problem that a great deal more cropping was done in the region than in later years.

The Tai Tapu Board's membership was remarkably stable from its inception in 1884 until the last years. Only eight men occupied the five seats. Of the three that left, one departed from the district and a second retired because of ill health. The third to resign was John George Murray of Riverlawn Farm, Greenpark, who was the chairman for the first five years.

Murray came to Canterbury with his parents in 1851 and began farming in the Halswell area on his own in 1857 when he was 21. He married Mary, eldest daughter of John Gebbie, and thus secured Riverlawn. When Gebbie resigned from the Little River Board, his son-in-law Murray took his place. Murray was a highly successful farmer and played an influential part in the formation of farmers' clubs at Christchurch and Lincoln, and in the A. and P. Associations which succeeded them. In 1886 Murray was elected to represent Halswell on the Selwyn County Council. He probably resigned from the Tai Tapu Road Board in 1889 in order to give his full attention to the larger body.

Murray's successor was an Ulsterman, Robert Macartney, who was chairman on two separate occasions for a total of eight years. Macartney had farmed in the district since 1863, first at Broadfield and then at Tai Tapu. He held 520 acres of rich land and was a founder and director of the Tai Tapu Dairy Company.

Others who served for a large part of the board's existence (and at times as chairmen) were William Gilman, Thomas Leathem and Robert Forbes. As the Tai Tapu storekeeper and auctioneer, Forbes in particular was in a position to perform useful community work and was clearly a leader in social affairs.

Forbes had arrived in the vicinity as the result of a shipwreck at Akaroa and subequently undertook large-scale construction work locally for the Rhodes family as well as in Christchurch and Westland. His knowledge on matters of contracts and construction must have made him a valuable member of the board which he joined after previously having been on the Little River Board.

4 Halswell County

Halswell now drops out of view until 1968 when it amalgamated with Paparua County. A brief account of the county's history is therefore appropriate at this point.

Halswell County was formed out of the union of Halswell and Tai Tapu Road Districts. This union was the product of the 1910 Selwyn County Subdivision Act which also produced the neighbouring Paparua County.

George Witty, Chairman of the Templeton Road Board and MP for the Riccarton electorate had charge of this Bill as it passed through Parliament. Its passage was smooth.

Witty had previously explained to fellow MPs that the effect of the Bill would be to wipe out 15 boards - 13 of them Road Boards. Eight counties, each with a valuation of over £1,000,000, would take their place. The average population of the new counties would be 3000.

In the five year period before this Act was passed, the number of counties jumped from 98 to 119. One of the main reasons for this multiplication of counties seems to have been the lure of extra funds: Counties received larger subsidies than did Road Boards. Some members, like C.A.C. Hardy, MP for Rakaia, hastened to deny this motive:

> Some might say that the counties by this move wished to draw more money from the government by way of subsidies, but that was not the case. It was not the intention of those interested in this Bill to fleece the government in any way. They only asked for more extended local government....

Nevertheless, extra funds had indeed been the inducement held out to Tai Tapu when Halswell had sent a deputation to urge the case for amalgamation. Charles Comer, the Halswell Board's clerk, had argued that "a county would have a full subsidy, dog tax, publicans' and auctioneers' licence fees and a share of the large reserve".

The last clause of the Subdivision Act seemed to be aimed against just this kind of temptation. It stated: "No greater amount of subsidy shall be paid in respect of any of the counties hereby constituted than would have been payable if this Act had not been passed". The clarity of this wording, however, left much to be desired.

In reality, Paparua received £303 and Halswell £292 in the following year. This was six times as much as the four boards had been granted in the previous year. But this did not long satisfy the two counties. In April 1916, Halswell approved joint action "to obtain the full subsidy as paid to other County Councils". Subsidies were soon afterwards granted on a new basis.

Some of the new counties were among the smallest in New Zealand. Halswell had an area of only 45 square miles and a population of 1,898. (Its neighbour, Heathcote County, was even smaller, but had a larger population). The north-eastern corner of the county was the most

closely populated with 303 people living at 'Spreydon' and 243 at Mount Magdala Home.

The county was divided into three wards, later called 'ridings', and each returned two members to the council. At the county's inception just over £2000 in rates were collected by the council from 423 ratepayers. The ex-clerk of the Halswell Board, Charles Comer, was now appointed County Clerk and Surveyor at £300 a year. This was a good salary at the time for so small a job.

The loss of Selwyn as a local co-ordinating authority did not result in a noticeably greater number of joint meetings or more correspondence. The various counties proceeded to co-operate without great difficulty on the two matters that needed uniform rules.

The first was the price to be paid for birds' heads and eggs, the second were the by-laws regulating the motor cars and trucks that by now were no longer an unusual sight on Canterbury roads.

In early 1918, Halswell called a meeting of county representatives to discuss motor car speeds and a possible tax on tyres. The outcome was a circular letter asking all Canterbury Local Authorities to adopt the by-laws on speeds that Wairewa County had already formulated.

Before subdivision, residents in the rapidly developing Cashmere area had expressed the wish to be under one local authority and had chosen the more populous Heathcote district. In 1911 the Cashmere Hills Ratepayers' Association reopened the subject and Halswell agreed to the transfer of land, but not to the suggested new boundary. Parliamentary action became necessary as a last resort and some ill-feeling resulted; Halswell had to insist on arbitration before the financial adjustments were concluded.

For most of its history the Halswell County Council, like most similar bodies, depended a great deal upon outside organisations. For example, the council took as much advantage as possible of the Public Works Department, which supplied electricity direct to the county. It was also very much to the council's advantage to co-operate with the Main Highways Board and its successor, the National Roads Board as the main Akaroa highway ran through the county.

In June 1919, the County Council had secured the right to distribute electricity. This decision put it in the forefront of Canterbury counties, but with power having been available from 1914, the move was not a particularly prompt one. In fact, as a result of the Tai Tapu Dairy Company's initiative, part of the county had by 1919 already been enjoying electric lights, heat and power for the best part of four years. The Dairy Company had made its own arrangements with the Public Works Department and by agreement with the council had also installed four street lights in Tai Tapu.

By 1923, the Public Works Department had completed the reticulation of the area. A total of 140 consumers were now connected with the supply, compared to the 139 on the Dairy Company's lines.

At the end of 1929, Halswell began negotiations to have its electricity placed under City control. Christchurch City obtained its electricity at an exceptionally low rate because, at the government's request, it had abandoned its own electrical scheme on the upper Waimakariri River. Halswell hoped to share these advantages.

A three-year struggle began with the Government's Electrical Department. This department had decided that any further development should be in the direction of strengthening the power boards. It could not be persuaded to make an exception. Halswell brought political pressure to bear by enlisting the support of H.S.S. Kyle, the local MP. It took a lengthy battle and a Cabinet decision before the Electrical Department surrendered.

Halswell was thus able, with some extra assistance, to supply electricity to its ratepayers early, easily and cheaply. It needed similar government aid to upgrade its roads to meet the demands of motor cars.

Ultimately, of course, all public money comes from taxpayers, but road boards and counties had a long tradition of tender care for their ratepayers' pockets. They could not easily adjust to the higher charges involved in making properly constructed roads. Even with reasonably lavish assistance, the Halswell Council usually chose to employ the cheapest materials which qualified for state subsidies.

The Main Highways Act of 1922 set up the Main Highways Board as the body to administer government expenditure. The country was divide into districts, Halswell falling into No. 14 District. In 1925, Halswell secured £391 which it used to remove awkward corners on the Akaroa Highway between Tai Tapu and Motukarara.

The first paved road in the county was just over two miles of the Lower Lincoln (now Halswell) Road from the city boundary to the Halswell township. Because of the traffic from Halswell quarry, now a city property, Christchurch agreed to meet 18 per cent of the cost of building and maintaining the road. British Pavements, the first of the firms established in Christchurch to tender for such work, quickly completed the contract.

This was as far as road improvements got before the economic depression. The paving of roads was resumed in 1933 when the council was called on to pay one quarter of the £3950 spent in providing a 'two coat bituminous sealed road' on the short distance of Akaroa highway between Halswell Post Office and the Paparua County boundary. This length was completed in 1934. During the same year Paparua continued the surfacing for five miles to Tai Tapu.

But almost three years passed before the sealing from Tai Tapu to Motukarara began towards the end of 1937. The delay in beginning this road well-illustrates the typical local need for outside financing. Christchurch motorists greatly appreciated the upgrading of this main road to Akaroa, but there was not a single local ratepayer's house along two miles of its length. Halswell County was therefore reluctant to undertake the work even when it was only called upon to contribute a quarter of the cost. In the end, the Main Highway Board settled for £2000 of the total £11,091 cost.

Early on the Main Highways Board had also discovered that it could get no co-operation from counties until it raised its subsidies to £3 for £1, thus effectively paying three quarters of the cost.

After the Second World War when the board resumed its active programme, it found it had to pay £5 for £1 in order to induce counties to upgrade their bridges. The replacement of Suckling's bridge at Tai Tapu, for example, required consultation between the board's engineers and both Halswell and Paparua Councils. Halswell objected to the deviation proposed by the engineers and so reduced the total cost to £9,000.

Despite all the cost cutting, 30 per cent of the Halswell roads was tarsealed by 1955. This was the best record among rural districts in the Christchurch vicinity. The Council Chairman, James Mackenzie, was able to report in his 1954 annual report that the amount spent on roads and bridges had risen from £1,819 in 1949 to £4,610 in 1954.

A proposal in 1958, however, that a loan of £55,000 be raised to reconstruct and seal 16 miles of roads that were "becoming increasingly dusty and detrimental to road users and adjacent properties" came to naught. The economical habits of 40 years were not so easily thrown off. Nevertheless, work plodded on at a steady rate, some one and a half miles being treated annually at a cost of £4,000 a mile.

In 1961, the council engaged its first full-time engineer, Jack Clarke, and by 1964 the council staff was carrying through on its own 'a most ambitious and complex programme'. This included raising the standard of two and a half miles of the Halswell Junction, Dunbars and Old Tai Tapu Roads and substituting new types of culverts in three places.

The amalgamation of counties was much desired by the National Road Board (successor to

the Main Highways Board). The board offered the lure of additional assistance to willing counties. In the case of Halswell the bait proved sufficiently tempting, but the result had its unintentional humour. When Halswell in 1964 asked for an inspection prior to joining Paparua, the Road Board told it that "Halswell roads compared very favourably with any the board had inspected over the whole of New Zealand". No further money was apparently forthcoming and amalgamation had to wait for nearly four years.

The development of the county can also be illustrated by a brief account of street and road lighting. In 1924 the Halswell Burgesses' Association requested a light at the corner of Sabys and Junction Roads.

The council was typically conservative, replying that "as the satisfactory lighting of the county would entail considerable expenditure, this council does not feel justified in proceeding with the matter at present". The association's offer to meet half the costs made no difference. The Tankerville area received similar treatment although the number of houses being built there clearly called for action.

By 1929, however, needs had become too apparent for such backwardness. The council actually placed extra lights in Hoon Hay and Sparks Roads without a recorded request. From 1931, suggestions (admittedly infrequent) that additional lamps be placed in Lincoln and Hoon Hay Roads were acted upon immediately.

By 1938 the council had got as far as considering full street lighting along Lincoln Road from the tram terminus to the township, but drew back when the Municipal Electricity Department quoted some £400 a mile. The council settled for lights at four corners instead.

The subdivision of sections along some roads and the consequent increase in house building led to much more than just extra lighting. By 1924, sections near the city boundary along Halswell and Hoon Hay Roads were being divided for sale. By 1935, Hoon Hay Road had been widened and tarsealed, probably the first side road to receive this treatment. Two years later in 1937, Candys and Asylum (Annex) Roads and Paterson Avenue were sealed along with half a mile at Tai Tapu from the hotel to the township. In 1939 the council also began to seal footpaths, beginning with three miles of Lincoln Road.

After the 1939-45 war, the council handled as well as it could the problems of increasing population. The subdivision of property for sale spread from Hoon Hay and Lincoln Roads into Tankerville Road. By the end of 1946 the Lands and Survey Department was laying out Anvers Place. The natural spill-over of city housing into a largely rural area was gradually transforming Halswell township into a dormitory suburb of Christchurch.

Pressure for additional services was beginning to make Halswell recognise its weakness as a small local body. It was therefore more open than its neighbours to the advantages of amalgamation and less hostile to the efforts of the Local Government Commission.

The residents of the developing areas were beginning to press for decisions on fire protection, high pressure water and sewerage schemes. The council's strategy in 1950 was to hand the decision back to the residents. Did they wish to be taken into the city or would they prefer the council to declare a special rating area and raise a loan for these services? It seems clear that the council was not prepared to let the township areas be subsidised by the rural ratepayers.

Two years passed before a deputation from the Hoon Hay Residents' and Ratepayers' Association asked, in November 1952, for concrete kerbing and channelling in their streets and the repair of footpaths. The deputation added a request for fire protection and public transport. The demands of urban living in the mid-20th century were confronting a council that had begun as an essentially rural body.

The September 1951 Council Minutes give some idea of the development pressures during this period. Applications for five subdivisions were received, 16 sale notices recorded and a

building inspector was appointed. The council also received a letter from the Regional Planning Authority opposing urban development around Halswell township as this would encroach on the city's 'green belt'.

The council escaped the problem of expensive services for the urban eastern end of the county when a petition of 730 electors asked the Local Government Commission in September 1953 for a transfer of their area to the city. The council raised no objections and the boundary change took place on April 1, 1955.

The transfer involved just over one square mile (870 acres), but the consequent sharp drop in county population figures reveal the contrast in density between this urbanised area and the rest of Halswell County. County residents were reduced from 2,850 to 1,554 and ratepayers from 1,401 to 605. The county lost more ratepayers in 1959, when a further 51 acres were incorporated into Christchurch.

Improved drainage over the years had gradually dried out much of the swampy area in the county. As early as 1912 the shrinking bog as far back as the Middle Lincoln (Wigram) Road had brought drainage pipes to the surface. The most important event after the Second World War in the annals of surface drainage occurred in 1945.

In this year the Ellesmere Land Drainage Board was absorbed by what was almost a provincial body, the North Canterbury Catchment Board. The board's system of rates was not really designed for closely settled areas and some property owners consequently had to face steep increases. On one property, for example, the rate rose from £1 11s 9d in 1951-2 to £31 6s 1d in 1953-4.

The council staff still spent a good deal of their time keeping the Heathcote River and the various drains clean. But two changes were significant. Drains were gradually being piped, both by the council staff and by private owners.

Closer settlement created problems. First was the "increasing amount of storm water....being concentrated in the Cashmere system" noted in the 1953 Minutes as a result of road paving and housing. Fortunately the staff secured good results in the same year with the use of a dragline in the Cashmere stream.

Second was the problem of household sewage. Most earlier houses had to cope with the customary septic tank, but the area was far from suitable for them. After 1950 the rapid extension of housing intensified the problem. In early 1958 the Christchurch Medical Officer of Health recommended the prohibition of septic tanks especially in the housing estates near Halswell township. The council was thus forced to embark on a full sewerage system. A pre-requisite, however, was a high-pressure water supply.

At a meeting a few months later in May 1958, 90 residents gave their unanimous approval to a proposed water scheme. The scheme was designed to cover 535 acres of the "built up area of Halswell" on the flat. The area was soon extended to include also the two small schemes already serving Kennedys Bush Road.

These two schemes involved the council in loan financing for the first time since the early days of electric reticulation and road paving. Some £62,000 was raised for the water scheme and by 1965 a 100,000 gallon reservoir was supplying 425 connections.

The sewerage network cost substantially more. A loan of £112,000 was agreed to, but the minutes of July, 1965 reveal that the lowest tender was for £119,760. The Halswell County Council came of age with the initiation of these two projects.

Halswell County was a district noted for the involvement of its citizens in community affairs, particularly in Halswell itself. The various organizations included the Halswell Improvement Association, the Senior Citizens Association, Service Clubs and a popular local newspaper, the *Halswell Courier.* Facilities for recreational included the Halswell swimming pool and sports

The Halswell Library, 1989.

grounds at the Halswell Domain.

This sense of community was echoed by most of those who served over the years on the County Council. One example is provided by the service record of Mrs Rita Ballintine. She joined the county staff in January 1929, and served as County Clerk from 1954 to 1968.

Another would be Edward Paterson, manager of the Halswell Quarry, whose final year of service as County Chairman was in 1952. He had served on the County Council from 1929, a distinguished record matched perhaps only by his counterpart in the Paparua County, James Leslie, who was to serve from 1912 until 1937.

CHAPTER SIX

The Paparua County Council: 1911 - 1989

1. Formation and Early Years

Selwyn County was formed by the Counties Act of 1876 after the Canterbury Provincial Council had been abolished. The new county had jurisdiction between the Waimakariri and the Rakaia rivers over an area stretching from the Westland boundary to the sea, but excluding the city and its suburbs.

The county thus included a diversity of terrain, from the high country to small farms and settlements on the Plain. In retrospect, it is surprising that a county that contained areas of such obviously differing needs held together for more than 30 years.

Towards the end of the first decade of the 20th century, these differences were leading to pressures for a major reorganisation. The Templeton Road Board had begun to consider leaving Selwyn County in May 1909. In this same year the Riccarton and Avon Boards had also initiated the act which formed them into Waimairi County. The disintegration of Selwyn County proceeded rapidly.

In May 1910, Templeton approached the Courtenay and Lincoln Boards with a proposal to include part of their districts into a proposed county. A meeting of the Selwyn Road Board Association was held on June 4, 1910, and in the following month Lincoln agreed to join Templeton. The members of both boards reached agreement on a name for the new County: 'Paparua'. 'Rua' means 'two' or 'double' in Maori and this choice of name therefore reflected the coming together of the two areas.

Other boards made similar arrangements and before the year had ended, George Witty, the MP for Riccarton, had seen the Selwyn County Subdivision Bill through Parliament. The Bill split Selwyn County into eight separate counties.

On April 1, 1911, Paparua County was officially born. The first meeting was held on Thursday, April 6 at the Templeton Road Board Office and George Witty, representing the Templeton Riding was elected chairman.

Other members were Thomas Stone, representing Yaldhurst; James Leslie, Islington-Hornby; Frederick Carr, Sockburn; Henry Paterson, Prebbleton; Edward O'Rourke, Broadfield; and Jeremiah McCarthy, Ladbrooks.

George Maginness, the returning officer for the election, was elected County Clerk at a salary of £300 per annum plus a free house. For this sum Maginness was also required to double as County Engineer.

The new county's choice was a fortunate one: Maginness was an exceptional man and the leading part that Paparua soon began to play among the southern counties as far as the Rakaia River owed much to his abilities.

The council re-engaged all the Road Board men at £2-6s a week and made F.W. East the temporary overseer at £2-10s. In October, the council also appointed Alice Freeman as typist at £1 per week. Alice Freeman's abilities were also to be recognised in later years: after the death of George Maginness she would become Paparua's first and only lady County Clerk.

The most important item of plant was the new office built on a 10 acre shingle pit reserve near the Sockburn railway crossing. The council initially did not appear even to have owned horses and drays. Shirley Brothers were the main roading contractors in the council's early

days; one monthly account paid to them was for £94-17-4d.

There were some early changes to the county's borders. At the first meeting the council resolved to ask the Malvern County Council "if they are willing to hand over to the Paparua Council the West Melton Riding". Malvern readily agreed.

Eight weeks later the transfer took place with George Watson and George Sandrey joining the Paparua Council as the West Melton representatives. This additional territory gave Paparua County control of the Waimakariri water scheme headworks. In its turn Paparua agreed to hand over a portion of Ladbrooks Riding to the Halswell County Council.

The new Paparua County thus finally consisted of nine ridings. The initial logic for the division into ridings was to provide for separate riding accounts. This reasoning reveals that elevation to county status had unfortunately not shaken ratepayers out of the previous narrow road board mentality.

Ratepayers in each riding seemed determined to pay only for their own local roads and showed little interest in the welfare of the community as a whole. Their attitude changed gradually, however, with the spread of motor cars. The increased mobility that cars gave farmers and others led to a greater interest in the condition of roads outside their immediate area.

A similar parochialism is reflected in the June 1911 meeting where the council "viewed with alarm" its assessment of £1,075 by the Christchurch Hospitable and Charitable Board. The council considered this sum "out of all proportion to the benefits received by the district".

Present ratepayers, the council decided, should not have to pay for the new buildings "which in all probability will suffice for a large number of years thereby making succeeding generations a present of the buildings". No leaders from the first generation of Canterbury colonists could have made such a statement.

The council also dealt with such problems as the small bird menace. At the May 1911 meeting the council decided to pay one shilling per dozen for blackbirds and thrushes and "sixpence per dozen for all other injurious small birds up to 30th September, after which 3d per dozen for all heads and eggs".

A more enduring headache was the maintenance of the water-race system. Two caretakers, C. James and J. Jeal were engaged from the Selwyn County Council staff. They were joined by J.H. Harris in the second year. These men supervised three gangs to clean first the main channels and then the 'private races' that were not cleaned by the landowners.

The gangs usually consisted of three men and the labour was arduous and unpleasant. Overhanging gorse hedges had to be trimmed back and the grass cleared from the bank. Despite precipitation ponds at the intake, sediment still accumulated in the races and had regularly to be removed.

The men were urged to achieve faster rates of work on private races whose owners had neglected their duty. Farmers were charged by the hour for this labour and the County Council had no wish to suffer the grumbles of ratepayers who thought they had been charged too much.

This was one area where the successful evolution of mechanised cleaning methods was wholeheartedly welcomed by all.

The First World War was not far away. It is remarkable, but perhaps understandable, how little of this great conflict is reflected in the council's Minute Books. Local government is instead concerned chiefly (and properly) with such enduring concerns as noxious weeds, wandering stock, water race cleaning and ratepayers' complaints.

The entries for this period revolve largely around these perennial problems, but they nevertheless manage to convey a fundamental solidity and permanence in the midst of death and upheaval that is curiously comforting.

The occasional entry does hint at background tensions in the build up to the massive conflict.

OAKLANDS SCHOOL

As early as October 1912 there is a somewhat cryptic reference to a letter received from the 'Secretary of the National Peace Council' regarding a 'Proposed Amendment to the Defence Act'.

The letter drew a sharply patriotic response from Councillors Leslie and Carr, who moved "That this council has no sympathy with those who desire through technical defects in the Law and in the administration of the same to evade their duty in defence of their country"

Two years later at the start of the war in 1914, the business was far more ordinary. At the February meeting the council received a letter from Mr. A.W. Erickson who stated that he would "take the job of Dog Ranger for another year provided the commission was increased from 20 per cent to 25 per cent". The council offered him 20 per cent plus a 2.5 per cent bonus "if a clean district is made". The total figure for the previous year of £145-17-6d suggests that this avenue of employment was hardly the royal road to riches.

A contribution to the Patriotic Fund was discussed in October 1915, but the matter was held over. In February of the following year it was decided that Patriotic Funds would be raised both by added rates and by personal contributions.

A more sobering matter was discussed at the July 5, 1917 meeting when the council agreed to the Minister of Internal Affairs' request that Paparua County provide free burial plots for soldiers.

To cap the horrors of war, the great influenza epidemic of 1918 took many lives. In December, 1918 the council received a letter from the Secretary of the Hospitable and Charitable Aid Board thanking Paparua for its help in combating the effects of the epidemic.

Another feature of this period is the increasing frequency of complaints about offensive factories. The Canterbury Bye-Products plant and the abattoirs were the main targets and the letters convey concern for both the growing industrialisation of the Sockburn and Hornby areas and the increase in urban housing that was moving ever closer to these plants.

After the war there was also a rapid increase in the number of motor cars bumping over Canterbury roads. The mobile society had arrived.

During the 1920s the minutes record a number of letters written to the council by the Automobile Association that had been formed to advance the interests of car owners. Most of these letters very predictably complain about the state of the roads; one letter makes what now seems a very reasonable request: that bridges be placed in the middle of the roads!

The County Clerk, George Maginness, found himself in hot water in December, 1921. A letter from the Mount Herbert County Council complained about Maginness's appearance as a witness in a court case brought against the Mount Herbert Council. The Paparua Council rallied to the support of its popular clerk. A diplomatic reply was sent stating that "the clerk was a very unwilling witness, that he had been subpoenaed to attend, and that his evidence was only a matter of fact". Since no more was heard, peace between the two counties was presumably restored.

By 1923, Paparua County had started to acquire some plant of its own. But as the chairman's annual report on May 3 reveals, the council was still mostly using horse power. The chairman, James Leslie, commented that "the horses were all in good condition with one exception which was getting on in years". Horsefeed had cost "a weekly average of 7/8d per horse and the shoeing had cost £5-16-6d per horse per annum".

He went on to state that the county plant was now valued "at over £3000". The council had a credit balance for the same amount so that "with the exception of the water race loans there was no public debt, a position which few countries could claim".

Paparua County's distinguishing factor over the years must surely be this financial responsibility which successive chairmen took care to sustain. Unlike neighbouring counties

like Heathcote, Paparua never during its history overextended its financial liabilities. There were to be no financial scandals.

In October 1924 the County Clerk released some interesting figures for Paparua. The county now had 5,345 people living within its 140 square mile area. The county valuation had reached £2,197,681, which compared very favourably with Waimairi's valuation of £2,887,019 for more than double Paparua's population at 11,445 people.

The next few years saw progress with roading in the county. At the September 1926 meeting, it was reported that "British Pavements had made a start with the paving of the Main South Road". The British Pavements Company seems to have been the first in the field of road tarring in Canterbury and its name figures repeatedly in the Council Minutes from this time on.

Two years further on in October 1928, a special meeting of the council censured the Main Highways Board for its acceptance of a "tender for the construction, in concrete, of three miles 69 chains of main highway in the Paparua County". Tar would apparently have been cheaper, and the council asked the Highways Board to reconsider the contract. Older readers will no doubt recall travelling on these experimental sections of concrete roads with their noisy joints.

Far more exciting in 1928 was the remarkable first aeroplane crossing of the Tasman by Charles Kingsford-Smith and his crew consisting of C.T.P. Ulm, the co-pilot, H.A. Litchfield, the navigator and T.H. McWilliams, the radio operator.

McWilliams provided a local link by being the only New Zealander amongst the crew. An enthusiastic crowd estimated at between 30 and 40,000 people gathered at Wigram to watch the historic touchdown at 9.22 on the morning of September 11, 1928.

It was interesting that 'Smithy', as he was known to all, should have chosen Wigram Aerodrome in Paparua County as his first landing place in New Zealand. The aerodrome, the first in New Zealand, had been built as a result of the Great War. It was later named after Sir Henry Wigram, who owned it privately in conjunction with other shareholders.

In 1923, Sir Henry offered the aerodrome to the government at valuation and contributed a personal £10,000 towards the cost. The other shareholders also made contributions, but the final cost of Sir Henry Wigram's gesture has been estimated at £38,500 - a very considerable sum for the times.

More mundane matters succeeded this excitement. The paving of the road from Templeton to Rolleston proceeded during the next few years. In his chairman's report at the May 1930 Annual Meeting, James Leslie was able to reflect back on progress during his 18 years as County Chairman.

He commented that "The finding of funds to meet the payments for the roading contracts was a great achievement. We now have the total length of our main thoroughfare paved and paid for without increasing our indebtedness".

Leslie went on to predict that "If the council follows the present method of financing up to 1936, there will be no public debt on the county at that date. That surely will be an unique position". What the County Chairman could hardly be expected to foresee was the Great Depression just around the corner.

A few months later the improved county roading had led to the next logical step. James Leslie reported at the August meeting that Mr. Colville from the Timaru Borough Council Staff had been appointed joint Traffic Inspector for Waimairi and Paparua Counties.

Mr Colville was a lucky man: there would be few staff appointments during the next few grim years.

2. *A Depression and a Second World War*

Unlike the First World War, a clearer sense of the depression does emerge from the County Minute Books. This is understandable since its effects were very strongly felt in local communities. Men were not simply being shipped off to some distant conflict; ordinary New Zealand families were instead witnessing the horrors of poverty and suffering in their own backyards.

Many of the entries from this period deal with the special work schemes that local authorities like Paparua ran in an attempt to lessen the suffering. In April 1931, George Maginness reported to the council that 150 men were employed under the No. 5 Work Scheme during the previous month. Maginness commented that "this number is a floating one as men come and go".

Maginness then proceeds to grade the men and his comments are both amusing and timeless. The Paparua County Clerk emerges clearly as something of a character. The men, he stated, could be roughly placed into four classes:

(a) Good workers who do not spend the day watching the clock for knocking off time;
(b) A number who do their best but it is not a very good best;
(c) Professional navvies who are capable of hard work but have to be driven to it and watched continually;
(d) Inefficients and time wasters who, in my economic scheme, would be unemploy able.

Maginness completed his report: "I consider that about 25 per cent of the men...are really good men and fit for permanent work in any labouring job; that 40 per cent are fairly satisfactory and the remainder I have no use for".

Ordinary New Zealanders were not the only ones that were experiencing acute money problems. Some local bodies were also getting themselves into severe difficulties.

In his July 1931 County Clerk's Report, Maginness commented on the neighbouring Heathcote County Council's balance sheet: "There are six ridings and each of them is in debt as are also two of their water systems and electric light areas. They have a valuation of £2,108,880 and a Public Debt of £114,665 or just over one shilling for every pound of valuation. If we had the same rate of Public Debt our indebtedness would be £130,000".

The Paparua Council's attitude to spending money might have seemed overcareful or even niggardly in the past, but in these bleak times it amply proved its worth.

Work schemes were not the government's only strategy for relieving the burden on the poor. During 1932 Paparua was forced by legislation to refund ratepayers a percentage of the rates, a procedure that involved considerable clerical work.

The County Clerk's Report in March contained an acid and outspoken reaction to this extra burden. George Maginness never seemed to be afraid of voicing his opinion: "The matter of individual refunds was bad enough as an isolated instance of government stupidity, but when it is suggested that such refunds be made an annual affair, I cannot find a satisfactory name for it".

The government next proposed a scheme that would involve taking £250,000 from the Main Highways Board funds and dividing this up among New Zealand ratepayers.

Maginness once more pointed out that the paperwork involved would be considerable and that ratepayers would hardly be saved from hardship by the less than £1 each would receive. Suggesting an alternative method of relief for ratepayer, he concluded caustically: "However,

that method would have been simple, efficient and non-spectacular, three bugbears of most governments''.

Even though these government schemes were badly thought out and apparently futile, they at least represented an attempt to alleviate suffering. By 1933 many New Zealanders were in desperate straits and the government was under great pressure to do something.

On a more cheerful note, Paparua County had celebrated its 21st 'birthday' in April 1932. George Maginness neatly summarised the county's achievement in his report to the Paparua Council: ''Looking back after 20 years, I think you will all agree that our progress has been sane and steady and that the county has reached its majority with a clean and honourable record''.

James Leslie's report as chairman also saw wisdom in the move that had turned Road Boards into County Councils. This had given ''local representatives greater powers and responsibilities''. The only doubt in this process was ''whether or not some of the smaller counties might not be dispersed and added either as a whole or piecemeal to adjoining ones, thus lessening the percentage of administrative costs''.

Without realising it, James Leslie was anticipating by 36 years the eventual amalgamation of Halswell County with Paparua in 1968.

By the beginning of 1934 things were starting to improve. The desperate period was largely over. Maginness was able to report in March that ''the rates have been paid very well indeed. Several amounts have come to hand this year without continual application and the number of returned cheques has been the smallest on record''.

Later in the same year, the chairman's report at the May, 1934 Annual Meeting signalled a significant departure from past thinking. James Leslie noted that the council had struck the same rate in the different ridings ''for a number of years now'' and noted that ''the movement to abolish ridings is spreading in the more progressive counties in New Zealand''. He therefore proposed that Paparua ''should abolish riding accounts altogether and treat the finances of the county as a whole''. Riding boundaries under this proposal would be maintained purely for representational purposes.

James Leslie's suggestion reveals that 23 years of county status had begun to transform ratepayers' views. They were beginning to think beyond the narrow limits of their own ridings and to consider themselves as part of a larger whole.

A special meeting was successfully held in July 1934 to get rid of the requirement to levy rates separately in each riding. The successful passage of this amendment undoubtedly signalled a new maturity of thinking in the county.

But this step did not necessarily mean that all the county roads were in tiptop condition. In this same month the council received a letter from an irate ratepayer, Mr. A.A. McLachlan. He claimed £3-10s. in payment for a car battery which was broken by loose metal on the Bealey Road. After much sober deliberation the council decided it ''could not accept any responsibility in the matter''.

A more sombre note was struck in October 1936, with the death of Paparua's colourful and efficient clerk, George Maginness. He had been County Clerk for 25 years, and had also served as Treasurer and Engineer. In recognition of his excellent services the council granted £300 to his widow.

His death was followed by that of the County Chairman in September, 1937. James Leslie had become Chairman of Paparua in 1912, and his final length of service matched that of County Clerk. These two men can surely be said to have played a major role in nurturing the young county through its first quarter century.

Two new chairmen served brief terms. P.F. Ryan served for one year from 1937-1938, and T.O. Morgan held the chair for the following two years until 1940. In his final Chairman's Report

on June 6, 1940, Tom Morgan voiced the dark and uncertain mood felt throughout the British Empire in the early days of the Second World War:

> I speak solemnly when I say that each of us realises that present day conditions are in a state of flux. We realise too that we cannot forecast what we shall be called upon to do or to sacrifice either as representatives of the ratepayers or as individuals. I have faith that we shall all do our utmost whatever the days bring forth.

As in the case of the First World War, it is remarkable how little of the conflict is directly reflected in the administration of the county. Anzac troops went off to fight and die in Europe and the far East, but the Minute Books record little beyond minor contributions towards the Patriotic Fund or the collection of waste metals and garments for the 'Lady Galway Guild'.

In this war New Zealand again had the good fortune to be geographically isolated from the main conflicts. Apart from the scare of Japanese invasion in the early stages of the war, the two islands were never bombed or physically threatened: Kiwis fought and died on foreign battlefields.

New Zealand's sacrifice in terms of lives lost in proportion to the total population was indeed a very high and honourable one; the country itself, however, remained largely unscathed.

Paparua County naturally experienced certain difficulties and shortages in common with other New Zealand counties but at the end of the war the chairman, Frank McArthur, was able to compare the New Zealand experience to that of England. He reflected that while "in our small way we have been short of labour, equipment and material...these have been trifles compared with the hardships suffered in the Homeland".

3. The Post-War Period

W.H. Overton took over as chairman of the Paparua County from Frank McArthur in 1946. He served for four years until 1950 when McArthur again resumed the chair until 1955.

Overton's comments at the December, 1948 Annual Meeting express a confident sense of Paparua's growing maturity. After thanking his fellow councillors for their co-operation, Overton continued: "I feel that the Paparua County Council is free of the parochialism that, I am afraid, affects some local bodies; and that each one of us is working for the county as a whole, not just for his own particular riding".

Overton's remarks in this regard are of course subjective, but the Paparua County Council's achievement in successfully governing both urban and rural areas does deserve wider recognition.

This success was not achieved without a measure of tension or conflict, but evolved gradually as rural and urban representatives learned to understand and respect each other's needs. What helped the process in the next few decades was the County Council's policy of steadily respecting local autonomy with regard to decision making.

By 1953, legislation had been passed that enabled the Paparua County Council to turn the Hornby Riding into Hornby County Town. Sockburn followed in 1956. The two County Towns each had seven appointed members and were able to make recommendations to the County Council. Two further permutations in later years gave increasing powers to these local authorities.

The basic idea behind the County Town legislation was to protect urban areas situated within

a larger rural area, but the Paparua County Council added a successful balancing feature of its own by extending the same rights and privileges to its rural district although no legal provision compelled it to do this.

This two-tier system of local government meant that the two County Towns and the Rural District each had committees and decisions reached at this level were rarely interfered with by the Paparua County Council. This meant that decisions truly reflected local needs. The function of the County Council was to co-ordinate decisions and administration at the larger County level.

Several staff changes signalled the post-war era. In February, 1952, the council paid tribute to the County Clerk, Alice Freeman, for her 41 years of continuous service. Alice Freeman had succeeded George Maginness as County Clerk in 1936, and she in turn was now succeeded by Alick Kelly, who was to serve until 1976.

It says much for the quality of service in Paparua County that during its 78 years of existence there would only be four County Clerks. The County Office at Sockburn was, by all accounts, a happy place in which to work.

Another sign of the county's maturity was the appointment of G.A. Macfarlane as the county's first engineer. His first few years, however, were not particularly smooth. This seems partly to have been the result of a personality clash between the engineer and the County Foreman, Mr. Cooke, who had been with the council for 34 years.

Much of the early work in the county would have been relatively straightforward with the foreman functioning as a 'jack of all trades'. No doubt the same happened in many other New Zealand counties. Accustomed to having been largely his own boss in the field, the foreman seems to have resented the new authority placed over him. It was a battle that he lost.

Common sense and simple 'Kiwi ingenuity' were no longer really adequate in the 1950s. The county was facing steady urban and industrial growth in areas like Sockburn and Hornby and the age demanded far greater sophistication. The integrated design of sewerage, water, electricity and road networks in urban areas needed increasingly complex skills. The time of the professional and the specialist had arrived.

The council was having to work harder too. During the year which ended on March 31, 1954, the council and the various committees met on 56 separate occasions and passed 1217 resolutions.

This was a very rapid increase over the 379 resolutions passed in the 1950/51 at only 11 meetings. A councillor's job was becoming increasingly time consuming and onerous. The trend towards more committees and more meetings would continue, but at a less frantic pace.

Much of the extra work resulted simply from the demands of a more complex age. Some of it also came about as a result of liaison with other counties. There were, for example, numerous meetings and much agonising over the question of amalgamation - a topic which will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

A second instance of the need for co-operation with other counties arose from the considerable attention given during the early 1950s to the problem of noxious weeds such as gorse, broom, Nassella Tussock and California Thistle.

The seeds of these plants perversely refused to recognise county boundaries, so that uneven or unco-ordinated attention given to this problem by neighbouring counties could easily frustrate local efforts. Counties were therefore increasingly learning to talk to each other even if co-operation was not always immediately forthcoming.

By August 1955, the County Clerk, Alick Kelly, was able to state in his report that Paparua was now a major county. He noted that back in 1951 the county had been ranked 29th out of the 120 counties in New Zealand on a population and valuation basis. He was confident that

its ranking in the current year was considerably higher.

There were other interesting statistics as well. The county now controlled 560 miles of water races throughout Paparua County as well as portions of the Springs and Waimairi Counties. On an average summer day, 20 million gallons of the Waimakariri River were diverted into the county races. If there were any blockages to the flow during the summer months especially, the County Engineer's phone very quickly grew hot.

The clerk also pointed to some of the county's advantages that favourably affected rates. Roading was relatively simple because of the predominantly flat country and solid foundations. There were practically no bridges to construct or maintain. Three of the major arterial roads in the county were State Highways and the state consequently assisted in their upkeep.

But if there were blessings, there were also thorns. In November 1955 the retiring chairman, Frank McArthur, expressed the council's concern about the number of government departments that were not paying rates on their Paparua properties.

This was not the first time that the issue had been raised, but the figures that Cr. McArthur quoted were startling: "With a total of £2,200,200 of non-rateable property out of the gross value of some £11,000,000 the Paparua County has perhaps a greater portion of properties which contribute no rates than any other local authority in the country".

The County Council made many efforts over the years to overcome government rates avoidance. It would take a number of years and a change of government before even a partial resolution to this problem would be achieved. The earliest success came with the government's eventual agreement to pay rates on at least the housing within the various government establishments.

One government facility that caused an additional problem was the air force base at Wigram. Ratepayers in the Wigram area suffered particularly from the noise made by the RNZAF training flights.

They would still be complaining 30 years later: an airfield in the midst of a residential area is a recipe for constant objections. The council could only ask the air force to restrict night training and the use of particularly noisy aircraft.

The growth of Paparua's urban area also brought houses steadily closer to industrial zones. The Islington Freezing Works was becoming a problem for home owners in its vicinity. The plant had originally been sited in a relatively open and rural area, but now it was surrounded by housing.

In March 1957 the council debated the offence caused by the disposal paddocks next to the Freezing Works. The disposal of unsaleable offal in open paddocks had been a cheap and satisfactory solution when the plant was first built, but was now a severe nuisance in an increasingly built-up area.

This problem, like the noisy Wigram Air Force Base, had no immediate practical solution. One could argue that it was a case of 'caveat emptor' for anyone buying a house close to the plant. The odour went with the turf, as it were.

The only light on the horizon was the Christchurch Drainage Board's sewerage scheme that was designed to reach the area in a few years' time. The council anticipated that the scheme would accept all the Islington Work's effluent from the Pelt Department. In the meantime suffering ratepayers would have to pray that the wind moved in the right direction.

Two changes occurred before April 1958. Arnold Campion, who had been County Chairman since 1956, died in office and was replaced by Jim Weaver who would serve as chairman until 1964. And the council appointed Alf Dyrhberg as County Engineer to replace G.A. McFarlane.

The new County Engineer inherited a roading system that had very little tarsealing outside

the main highways and the urban Sockburn/Hornby area.

His priority was firstly to seal more roads, secondly to upgrade footpaths and thirdly to provide proper kerbing and channelling. The development of the Sockburn and Hornby area had been markedly stimulated by their designation as County Towns and the area now needed the full infrastructure to match the process of urbanisation and industrial growth.

In June 1959, the new County Chairman attended a New Zealand Counties Conference. In his report on the conference to the Paparua Rural Districts Committee, Cr. Weaver stated he had been particularly struck by the rapid progress some North Island Counties had made in sealing their roads. He commented that although "we in the South are particularly favoured in having cheap road metal available to us...we do not seem to be taking any great advantage from this in pushing ahead with the sealing of roads".

One major cause of Paparua's tardiness was lack of funds: "Our Rural District rate at 4/5ths of a penny in the pound must be one of the lowest in New Zealand and compares with something near 2d or more in North Island Counties'. The chairman went on to note that "even by comparison with other Canterbury counties our...rate appears very low".

These figures were useful in countering ratepayer criticism that road sealing was slow in some areas. At the following month's council meeting, for example, Cr. Wilson commented that West Melton ratepayers were hardly entitled to complain about the lack of road sealing in their area since their district had not been paying sufficient in rates to warrant much work of this nature.

The chairman agreed, but cautioned against council members placing too much stress on riding boundaries in the Paparua Rural District. Ridings, he pointed out, had been abolished years ago - except for representational purposes.

The Rural District was facing another kind of pressure. The surest way to increase productivity in some areas of the Canterbury Plains was to irrigate. Farmers in the drier parts of Paparua County were casting envious eyes at the irrigation schemes in other Canterbury counties and the council was beginning to receive requests for more extended use of the water-race system.

In June 1960, for example, the Stock Water Supply Committee received a deputation from the West Melton Property Owners who had petitioned for a limited irrigation system to their properties to be supplied by the existing water-race system. The problem the council faced, however, was that the water-race system had been designed for other purposes.

The county water-race network was indeed extensive, but it had been primarily designed as a stock watering system. It had never been planned to cope with high volume demands of irrigation.

The summer flow in the races was now approximately 40 cusecs, or 900,000 gallons per hour, but impressive though the figures might seem, this volume had to flow through more than 500 miles of water race. The County Engineer's report in October 1959 seemed to be conclusive: "the system is not designed as an irrigation system and should not be used as such to any great extent".

The County Chairman had something more positive to report by December 1960: "it is pleasing to record the official opening during the year...of the county's attractive new office premises, opened by the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Hon. W.T. Anderton". The new Sockburn building offered timely and comfortable office space for the growing staff.

The chairman's next Annual Report in December 1961 showed just how quickly Paparua County had grown since the war. In 1945, the county population had been 6,646 and the rateable capital valuation £3,849,750. By 1961 the population had more than doubled to 15,750 whilst the valuation had increased nearly five times to £18,721,670.

In the following year the council also debated another problem industry. Paparua County had always been noteworthy for its numerous quarries; the Sockburn headquarters had indeed been built next to one of these. Once more, however, increasing urbanisation of the county had turned profit into nuisance.

The noise and dust associated with heavy stone crushing machinery and large lorries was becoming unacceptable in built-up areas of the county. The Town Planning Committee suggested in April 1962 that the best practical solution was to allow existing pits to continue until they were worked out, but to exclude quarrying as a 'predominant' or 'conditional use' of county land except in a prescribed portion of the county.

The council agreed that this policy would both protect the county's own quarrying operations and confine all future commercial quarrying to riverbed areas.

It is worth noting that nine years after this deliberation, the Isaac Construction Company won the 1971 landscape award of the New Zealand Association of landscape designers for its "outstanding contribution to New Zealand landscape". The company's restoration of its commercial shingle pits at Harewood resulted in the beautiful wild life reserve of Peacock Springs. The Paparua County Chairman would describe it as "one of the outstanding features of Christchurch".

Although the County Council could not fully satisfy farmers' demands for irrigation water, the urban parts of Paparua had something substantial to celebrate in November 1962. In his Annual Report, the County Chairman was able to record the "virtual completion of the installation of high-pressure water throughout Upper Riccarton, Sockburn, Hornby and Islington". This water was not from the Waimakariri, but was instead pumped from a series of underground wells to storage tanks. A later development saw the high-pressure water supply extended to Prebbleton.

One of the great assets of the Canterbury Plains area around Christchurch is the ready availability of clean, underground water. The city itself, as well as the neighbouring counties, has made good use of this water source which appears to be constantly replenished by underground flows from the Alps and probably also by percolation from the Waimakariri. The high-pressure scheme therefore involved raising a loan for the installation of additional wells and the construction of storage tanks.

The first suggestion that this water be fluoridated was made at the April 1963 meeting. The idea was rejected by the council at the following meeting in May. Although dental care experts might have deplored this swift decision, the Paparua County was at least saved the long controversy that attended the fluoridation of water supplies in other parts of New Zealand.

The decision was a wise one for its time: 27 years later the tide has decidedly turned against imposed fluoridation in favour of free choice.

The chairman's Annual Report in November 1963 provided some further figures on the steady growth in county staff. In 1952, there were only four clerical and engineering staff in charge of 17 works employees. By 1963, the office staff had risen to 18 and a total of 43 outside workers were also employed.

This was to be Jim Weaver's last report as chairman. A Special Meeting was called on May 15, 1964 to record his death and to pay tribute to his six year term as County Chairman as well as the 10 and a half years that he had served as member of the Sockburn Riding. The meeting elected Cr. Bob Roberts as the new chairman.

The new chairman soon had a significant piece of news for his fellow councillors. He reported at the June meeting that the Halswell County Council had approached Paparua "inquiring whether we would be prepared to discuss and explore the possibilities of...amalgamation".

A meeting between representatives of the two counties followed and a sub-committee was established in July to investigate the pros and cons of such a move. The wheels of local government sometimes move slowly: it would take another five years for the idea to reach fruition.

Another question confronted the new chairman in June, 1964. Christchurch City proposed building a new Town Hall, and the neighbouring counties were asked to contribute. The Paparua County Council agreed to provide 'an equitable share' of the funds. Despite this ready decision, the funding of metropolitan projects was often a source of contention between Christchurch City and its neighbours.

In later years especially, the local bodies on the outskirts of Christchurch such as Paparua, Riccarton and Waimairi would have to endure charges of parasitism. City councillors would repeatedly claim that suburbs outside of city control were enjoying the benefits of central Christchurch's facilities without paying for them.

These claims were sometimes made to explain why rates outside the city controlled areas were generally lower. But it is also possible to see these charges as a hidden justification for excessively high rates in suburbs under city control.

The Paparua records certainly show that the council did, in fact, contribute to such metropolitan facilities as the Town Hall and the Canterbury Museum although what constituted 'an equitable share' of the upkeep or construction of these facilities was always a contentious point.

In the case of the Town Hall, Paparua played a particularly constructive part in the initial discussions by proposing that all the metropolitan councils contribute funds towards the total cost on an agreed basis for a period of several years. The suggestion was adopted and resulted in a saving of several hundred thousand dollars in the final loan necessary to build the hall.

Interestingly enough, the reverse criticism did not seem to be made although it appears equally valid: city ratepayers obviously also used Waimairi's roads or Paparua's recreational facilities without paying for their construction or upkeep. The issue was undoubtedly more complex than the sometimes opportunistic attacks by city councillors which the popular press was only too ready to print.

A popular subject for these attacks was the Christchurch International Airport, which had been built by the city funds, but which was situated in Paparua County. A typical instance was a press article that had appeared back in May 1960. The article alleged that that the Paparua County Council obtained a good deal of rates money from the airport without having contributed to its cost or providing much in the way of services.

The Paparua County Chairman's response at the next council meeting was both moderate and sensible. He commented that the Airport, ''although undoubtedly providing an important public service, is nevertheless a trading undertaking and the Christchurch City Council in proceeding with this worthy project has surely assumed that there will ultimately be a profit on its investment''.

There was therefore no reason for giving it any special treatment. He went on to point out that ''it is highly probable that if no profit had been expected, (the City Council) would have invited the other Canterbury Bodies to participate and to share in the losses''.

The County Clerk, Alick Kelly, has subsequently pointed out that if Paparua had owned property in the city, it would no doubt have been expected to pay its rates like any other property owner. One could also argue that the city ratepayers did not pay the airport rates: the users of the airport facilities in effect paid them.

Co-operation between Paparua County and its neighbours was, in fact, both inescapable and more extensive than these public skirmishes might suggest. The multiple needs and demands of the age were such that no county could pretend to be an island.

The question of fire protection typically illustrates how intermeshed some services were. The County Engineer's report in July 1964 showed that Paparua's ratepayers were protected in a variety of ways. Urban Paparua, Yaldhurst, Templeton, Prebbleton and the intervening Rural District were covered by the Christchurch Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

The Selwyn Group Fire Protection Organisation was responsible for the whole of the county outside the Metropolitan Fire Brigade District. The newly established Lincoln Volunteer Brigade served that part of the county within the Selwyn Group District, but south of the main railway line.

In addition, the Rolleston Local Fire Unit could provide limited assistance in Rolleston and surrounding areas. There was also the council's own main fire unit, and a second council unit was stationed at West Melton during the summer months to provide limited protection in that area.

There were other services that ignored county boundaries such as the Christchurch Drainage Board, the North Canterbury Catchment Board, the Christchurch Transport Board and the MED. If rates had to be levied for any of these, the Paparua County Council acted as collecting agent.

July 1964 marked the opening of a trust hotel in Hornby by Mr. Mick Connelly, MP for the district. The establishment of such an hotel in Hornby had first been mooted 11 years earlier in August 1953 by the Hornby Residents' Association.

The proposal seems to have taken the Paparua County Council by surprise and its initial reaction was guarded. The council referred the proposal to the Hornby County Town Committee with the suggestion that it conduct a poll.

The results were decisive. A sustantial majority favoured the establishment of a hotel in Hornby and also wanted it to be controlled by a trust as opposed to private enterprise. The advantage of a trust was that a percentage of the profits could be ploughed back into the community.

The Hornby Licensing Trust was accordingly gazetted in September, 1958 and a committee of six formed. The chairman was Mr. J.N. McBride whilst the Paparua County Clerk, Alick Kelly, served as secretary.

Initial plans for the hotel's construction were retarded both by a change of government and by the economic downturn in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the persistence of the trust was rewarded in January, 1963, when a new institution, the Canterbury Savings Bank, agreed to advance the required funds. The total cost of the project came to $160,000.

The first few years justified all financial expectations: the trust was in fact able to spend a total of $14,000 on capital improvements within the first three years of operation. The hotel proved an increasingly popular community centre for Hornby and its amenities were soon in keen demand for evening functions.

The County Chairman's Annual Report in November, 1964 again emphasised the growth in both the county population and valuation. The County Clerk provided the breakdown:

Riding	Rateable Valuation	Population	Representation
Sockburn	5,939,685	5,500	2
Hornby	5,878,070	6,000	3
Islington	1,964,350	1,300	1
Templeton	1,401,125	1,100	1

Yaldhurst	3,482,615	1,100	1
West Melton	1,583,070	1,100	1
Prebbleton	1,569,145	800	1
Broadfield	1,148,555	500	1
Ladbrooks	1,096,390	400	1
TOTALS	£24,063,005	17,800	12

An especial problem during the year had been an outbreak of hydatids in the dog population. The County Hydatids Control Officer reported a sharp rise in the incidence of Echinococcus Granulosus (True Hydatids) infection. This rise in incidence continued into 1965.

These outbreaks were periodic and could only be contained by vigilant dosing. As in the case of noxious weeds, County Control officers performed a great deal of unsung labour in the field over the years to contain these threats. Both problems could only be kept in check by regular and methodical work. Like so many of the tasks undertaken by the staff, the work was hardly glamorous, but very necessary to the well-being of the ratepayers.

A less serious matter enlivened council proceedings towards the end of 1965. The County Chairman's nose was very much out of joint. It appears that the Mayor of Christchurch (at the time this was George Manning) had officiated at a Wigram Passing Out Parade. He had worn his ceremonial gown and chain of office for the occasion.

With much huffing and puffing at this territorial incursion, the County Chairman, Bob Roberts, declared himself "surprised and disappointed" that Mayor Manning should have accepted an invitation to officiate without prior consultation with the Paparua Chairman. Cr. Roberts considered that "his action cannot be regarded as other than a slight on this county and this council, the standing of which must, I consider, be maintained at all times".

The chairman went on to assure the council that his objection was not personal: "I reluctantly and for no personal reason feel that I must recommend that Mr. Manning's attention be again drawn to this matter and an explanation sought". This was presumably not the first offence. Whatever the case, the minutes are silent about if or how the ruffled feathers were smoothed.

Alas, Bob Roberts had not long to live. The Annual Report in November, 1966, was presented by a new chairman, Cr. Doug Warren, who recorded the sudden death in June of Bob Roberts. The late chairman would have been gratified, though, by the reported completion of the county's first group of 15 pensioner cottages at Weaver Place, Sockburn.

The new chairman could also point to the virtual completion of a further 10 adjoining units. In addition, considerable progress had been made towards the purchase of a site in Manurere Street, Hornby for the establishment of a further 30 units.

The need for such pensioner accommodation was underlined by the steadily growing county population. A total of 19,666 people now lived within the county boundaries and the total county valuation had reached £28,321,325.

The county population was shortly to be substantially increased: the amalgamation with Halswell County was imminent. In August 1967 the Halswell County Council unanimously decided to join the Paparua County Council in asking the Local Government Commission to approve the amalgamation of the two counties from April 1, 1968.

The decision was generally popular. Doug Warren, the Paparua Chairman, described it as "very pleasing" and felt that the step held significant advantages for a "relatively small local authority" such as Halswell.

He also commented on the interests shared in common by the two counties. Like Paparua, Halswell had both an urban and a rural component. Cr. Warren foresaw that the Halswell urban

area would probably be constituted a County Town like Hornby and Sockburn. The rural part of Halswell would then be administered in conjunction with the Paparua Rural District. Events closely followed his prediction.

An editorial in the *Christchurch Press* at the end of August also welcomed the move and described it as "sound". Although the paper had "hoped for a broader scheme" it saw the merger proposal as "a good beginning - probably the best pairing of any of the local bodies in the area".

Paparua County was in a strong position for the merger. With a capital value exceeding $66,000,000 and a population close to 20,000, the county was among the largest of New Zealand's counties and was in fact substantially larger than three-quarters of the municipalities. All the administrative and works accounts carried very healthy working balances at the close of the 1966/67 financial year.

A final step was agreement that Halswell should contain three ridings: Halswell Township, Halswell Rural Riding and the Tai Tapu Riding. The new Paparua County Council met for the first time on April 1, 1968. Doug Warren was elected as Chairman and Halswell's three members on the new combined council were Jack Pethig, Chairman of the previous Halswell Council, Douglas Graham and Peter Wynn-Williams.

4. The Challenges of Growth

The new county soon had fresh challenges to consider. The Christchurch Regional Planning Authority had proposed a satellite city at West Melton in an attempt to relieve long term development pressure on the Christchurch area.

Paparua's Town Planning Committee reacted in September. It criticised the Regional Planning Authority for trying to force the satellite city onto the county and considered that the scheme was premature. The committee argued that development would better be served by first extending the metropolitan area. Twenty-two years later, time has vindicated the committee's comments: West Melton slumbers on in rural peace.

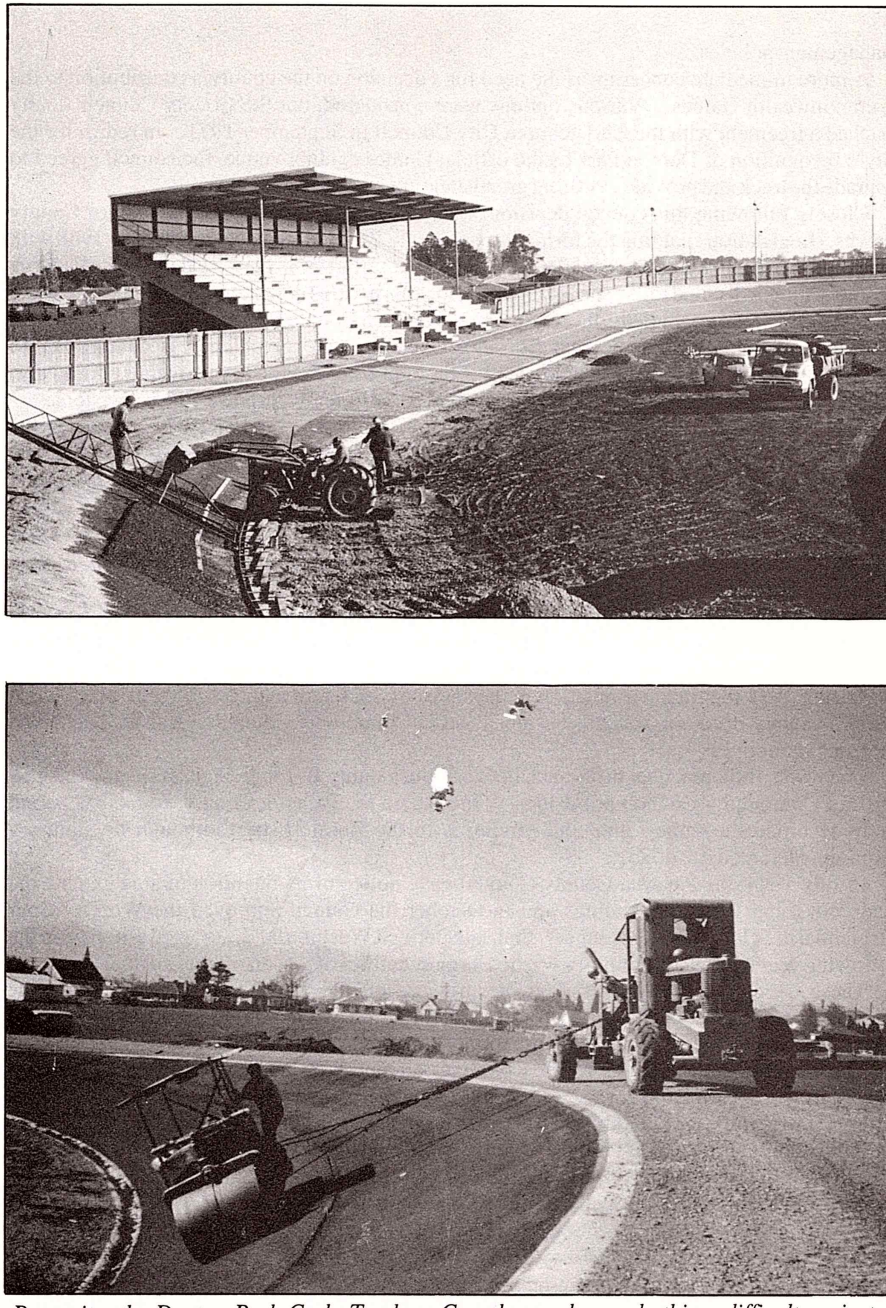
More realistic were plans for the Commonwealth Games which were due to be staged in Christchurch in 1974. The County Council first approved financial support for the Games in March, 1969. Later in the year the council also agreed to contribute towards the cost of restoring the magnificent and historic Provincial Council Buildings. The council made it clear, however, that this offer was conditional upon the government tenants (the Justice Department) maintaining the buildings properly and paying a fair rent.

Amalgamation with Halswell had substantially strengthened the Paparua County. In his November 1970 Annual Report, the County Chairman was able to reflect that Paparua was now among the stronger and larger units of local government in New Zealand and appeared to be well able to meet the needs of its people. On the basis of its population of 26,500 and capital value of $114,000,000 Paparua had become the seventh largest of the 110 counties in New Zealand.

The need for proper planning of further growth in the county was underlined by soil statistics. About 70 per cent of the area in Paparua County consisted of soils that had a high potential for food production. This figure was in sharp contrast with rest of New Zealand - and indeed other parts of Canterbury - where the average of such high yielding soils was a mere three per cent.

These figures were particularly valuable because they heightened awareness of how productive areas could be lost forever by thoughtless expansion. The county's rich bounty of fertile soils were particularly threatened by its close proximity to Christchurch.

The future struggle would be to limit the loss of soil assets by channelling urban sprawl into the less productive areas. Town Planning was becoming a vital component in the council's



Preparing the Denton Park Cycle Track – Complex angles made this a difficult project for Paparua County Engineers.

management policies.

A more immediate concern was the need for a decision on the county's contribution to the Commonwealth Games. Various options were considered, but the County Council finally reached agreement with the Christchurch City Council in September 1971. In return for the city's recognition of Denton Park as the official Games cycling venue, the council agreed to upgrade the track and provide a 900 seat grandstand at a cost of $66,000.

Closely following this council decision was one affecting Hornby and Sockburn County Towns. Legislation enabling the formation of County Boroughs had been passed in 1968 with the purpose of giving greater control to the larger County Towns in New Zealand. The Paparua County Council decided to elevate Hornby and Sockburn to this new status.

Instead of being appointed, all seven members on each County Borough Council would now be elected triennially and the two Borough Councils were given increased authority to administer their own affairs. In practice, this brought little change to the overall administration of Paparua County since the County Council had traditionally respected local decisions.

In August 1972 the *Christchurch Star* published an interesting comparison between the incomes of Cabinet Ministers and County officials. It turned out that both the Town Clerk and the City Engineer of Christchurch earned $14,054 a year. Although the Prime Minister earned $5000 more than this at $19,040, they were definitely doing better than ordinary Cabinet Ministers who only earned $12,600. The Paparua County Clerk, by contrast, earned a modest $8,256 and the County Engineer $8,156. The Town Clerk at Riccarton Borough had to struggle along on a mere $7,500 per annum.

Paparua gained its third County Engineer in early 1973, when John Annan replaced the retiring Alf Dyrhberg. The new County Engineer was soon busy with site development on a 70 acre industrial sub-division at Hornby that was one of the largest of its type in Christchurch.

During 1974 the final permutation in the status of Sockburn and Hornby took place when the two County Borough Councils became District Community Councils. Halswell achieved the same status in 1977.

There was little practical difference between the County Borough legislation and the new District Community Council provisions. Once again the Paparua County Council as parent body accorded the same rights and privileges to the Rural District although no statutory requirement forced it to do so.

In July 1974, the Paparua County Council gave notice of its intention to amalgamate the Ladbrooks and Broadfield ridings and in October the council approved the Worsley Spur residential development. This subdivision, later termed Westmorland, attracted criticism in the following year when heavy rainfalls washed large quantities of topsoil off the hillside.

These developments all increased the pressure on the Town Planning section of the engineer's staff. A logical step, therefore, was the Council's appointment of David Hinman 11 months later in September, 1975 as the county's first professional Town Planning Officer.

The appointment was timely. The County Council was facing new pressures for subdivision in the rural parts of Paparua. On the one hand were city people looking for a few acres in the country where they could escape urban pressures, keep a horse or two and yet still be close enough to commute to work. Paparua County was a favourite choice.

On the other were farmers nearing retirement who after a lifetime of farming had anticipated subdividing their land at sufficient profit to allow them to retire in comfort. This conclusion to a life of hard work seemed, after all, to be one of the natural perks of farming on the edge of an expanding urban area. Others before them had benefitted from it and some farmers therefore regarded subdivision as an almost automatic right.

These pressures, however, clashed with the County Council's desire not to see productive

land permanently lost by permitting uncontrolled or uneconomic subdivision. There were future generations of New Zealanders to think of as well.

Subdivision also brought with it a host of problems not always readily appreciated by those who sought it. It created an inevitable demand for more county services such as better roading, sewerage, rubbish collection, electricity and water supplies. Providing these services could be a complex and costly undertaking.

Paparua was also feeling pressure from another source. The Canterbury Regional Planning Authority (which later became the Canterbury United Council) complained that the County Council had been too lax in permitting subdivision.

Legislation dating back to 1953 had, in fact, made it mandatory for counties to establish planning schemes and to review these schemes every five years The Regional Planning Authority argued that the Paparua had a greater obligation to adhere to the Regional Planning Scheme.

In particular, the 'Green Belt' concept around Christchurch was in danger of being eroded by uncontrolled urban sprawl which would inevitably lead to full urbanisation. Low density urban sprawl is a town planner's nightmare because it is so costly to service. The council was therefore urged to tighten up on its procedures and to introduce further controls on rural land.

As a result the County Council's new proposals on subdivision and building on rural land emerged in 1976. Change No. 4 to the District Scheme meant essentially that the minimum subdivisional areas be increased from the existing 20 acres to 300 acres for Class 11 land, 150 acres for irrigated land, and 100 acres for Class 1 land.

There was vocal opposition. Some 1,500 or about 80 per cent of the Rural District ratepayers pledged their opposition to the council's plans. The ratepayers argued that the proposals were retrogressive and nullified previous decisions. Farmers who wished to subdivide land or who had already done so under the previous 20 acre rule would be particularly hard hit. It was even difficult for farmers to hand over their properties to their children and build themselves a retirement house on a small section of their former land.

The County Council defended its position after a meeting on April 4. It argued that the proposed changes had four main aims:

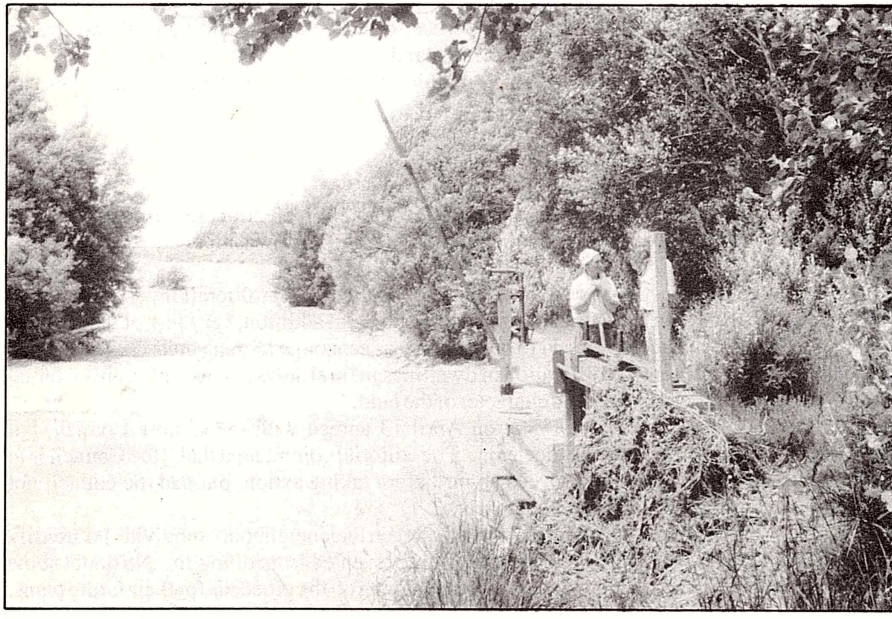
i) the preservation of good farm land;
ii) the prevention of urban sprawl;
iii) the protection of established and future traffic routes and recreational areas;
iv) the encouragement of a sense of community in the existing townships.

The council also argued that past practices had resulted in a proliferation of uneconomic farming units with a consequent loss of food production. In addition, very few of the existing 5, 10 and 20 acre blocks "could be said to be operating as economic farming units". The council therefore wished to prevent a proliferation of dwellings in rural areas that would strain essential services and visually destroy the rural character of the land.

An editorial in the *Christchurch Star* on April 13 agreed with the County Council, but criticised the timing of the council's decision. The editorial commented that "the Council is at fault for allowing subdivision to proceed so far before taking action, but had the council not acted now, the position would have become worse".

It was quite understandable that farmers who had seen their neighbours subdivide both easily and profitably should feel angry that they were now prevented from doing so. No doubt some of them had planned this step in advance and were banking on the proceeds for their future plans. Nevertheless, the council had to draw the line at some point and a legal opinion had made it clear

Mr Alick Kelly, County Clerk 1952-76.



The Water Race Intake on the Waimakariri River.

that the more easy-going policies of the past were no longer tenable.

The new building restrictions also affected the plans of farmers who had already completed their subdivisions. As a compromise, those who had already subdivided were allowed to build one more house. The new restrictions meant, however, that there would be no automatic right in the future to build houses: these had to be linked to productive farming activity.

1976 saw some changes in both office staff and the council. Alick Kelly retired after nearly 25 years service. He had been appointed in 1952 to succeed Alice Freeman and had seen the county grow during his period of service from a small, mainly rural county to one of New Zealand's largest on a population and valuation basis. The population had risen from 9,000 to more than 32,000, making Paparua larger than the cities of Nelson and Timaru.

In a retirement interview, Alick Kelly reflected that Paparua had generally benefitted by its blend of urban, rural and industrial life, despite some problems caused by the rapid and varied growth of industry at Hornby and Sockburn.

He recalled how the office staff of only four in 1952 had increased tenfold to 40 in 1976. In 1952, the rates levy was less than $100,000 and the property valuation $15,000,000; in 1976 the rates levy was $2,000,000 and the property valuation $400,000,000.

He also noted the council's achievements in providing recreational facilities for its ratepayers. There were heated swimming pools at Sockburn and Halswell. The Denton Park cycle track was of international standard and there was also an arena for soccer or rugby at the same venue. The Sockburn Park recreational centre next to the swimming pool had four squash courts as well as pool tables and other facilities, and development was also proceeding in the newly acquired Warren and Kyle parks.

Alick Kelly's replacement as County Clerk in July, 1976 was his deputy, Bryan Mooar. Geoff Head moved into the Deputy County Clerk position and also served as Administrative Officer. Both men already had extensive service with the county and would continue in office until the dissolution of the Paparua County in November 1989.

The County Chairman, Doug Warren, resigned in July for health reasons and the ex-Chairman of Halswell County, Jack Pethig, was elected in his place. Cr. Pethig would also serve as County Chairman until the end. His election both demonstrated the success of the amalgamation between the two counties and cemented the two areas more closely together.

The retiring County Chairman had some interesting comments on his 10 years in office. He considered one of the strengths of the Paparua County Council to be the lack of party politics which "are far better forgotten at local government level". The exclusion of party politics meant that council members could examine proposals on their merits and vote in the best interests of ratepayers without having to worry about toeing the party line.

Cr. Warren had also witnessed some significant changes in land values: "I have seen tremendous increases in the values of properties in and around the county. Farms which were bought for a few dollars an acre 20 to 30 years ago are now being sold at upwards of $2,000 an acre". This upsurge undoubtedly made it difficult in his opinion for young people to start farming.

These comments were relevant to the continuing debate about subdivision. In this same month 460 objectors had registered their disapproval of the council's Land Control proposals.

In defence of the council's policy, David Hinman, the Town Planning Officer, commented that the "building of houses on small lots had resulted in grossly inflated property values, often causing loss of economic viability for un-subdivided farms and leading to their subdivision". He argued that "with some exceptions, the small lots were for residential use, not for farming".

Counter arguments were immediately forwarded that small lots actually increased productivity, and the council was criticised for its 'ping-pong' changes of rural land that did little to

inspire confidence. Clearly, there was an urgent need for further research on the council's part to determine whether production was, in fact, increased on small plots.

Two later surveys in 1979 and 1980 showed that the original fears that production would be lost through subdivision were largely groundless. The surveys revealed that production often rose because the smaller blocks could be more intensively developed even by part-time farmers who worked in the city. Many of these owners indeed came to wish that they had more land for expansion.

In later years the council dropped the minimum acreage requirement and simply stipulated instead that the proposed scheme must be viable. Prospective owners were required to submit farming plans and to demonstrate that their blocks were being productively used before they were allowed to build houses. They were also made aware that if they subsequently sold their smallholding, the new owner would be required to maintain the productivity.

More attention was paid to relating the type of farming to the type of soil. The council tried to ensure that factory farms that did not rely on natural soil fertility (for example, intensive mushroom growing, chicken or pig farming) were not located on highly productive soils.

Progress of the various proposals was monitored and it was found that the majority of schemes were in fact successful and that most of the smallholders had acted in good faith.

In November 1976, the new chairman was able to reflect on the county's achievements in his first report. The council provided a high pressure waters supply to the urban areas, constructed and maintained roads, provided kerbing and channelling, spent $160,000 a year on parks and recreational facilities, offered dog control and hydatids dosing, noxious weeds control, libraries, town planning, rubbish collection and disposal.

The council also contributed to the upkeep of the Canterbury Museum and other city services. The cost of all this to the average householder was no more than the annual telephone service and much less than the annual electricity bill.

The council had been supportive too of a private venture that was planned back in 1970 and which finally opened to the public in 1976. The Orana Park Wildlife Trust at McLeans Island was specially designed as an open range zoo and soon became recognised as one of the top 20 of its kind in the world. The park specialised in native New Zealand fauna and African savannah animals. By 1989 Orana Park had become one of Christchurch's top recreational facilities, second only to the Canterbury Museum in attracting over 120,000 visitors a year.

In the mid-1970s the council faced one intractable problem in common with other local authorities. Disused quarries had seemed ideal in the early days for rubbish disposal, but no one could have anticipated the sheer volume generated by later 20th century living. Mountains of refuse were simply overwhelming facilities in all counties.

Where these quarries adjoined residential areas there were the obvious problems of unsightliness, stench and wind blown refuse being scattered about.

Paparua's rubbish tip at Harewood posed a particular danger to aircraft at Christchurch International Airport because of the great numbers of scavenging seagulls and other birds attracted to the site. This was exacerbated by Waimairi County's tip at the other end of the airport. The birds naturally flew directly from one to the other in search of pickings.

More insidious was the possible long-term danger to the purity of Canterbury's ground water by the uncontrolled dumping of toxic waste. The problem was worsened by the fact that some of these disused quarries were privately owned and therefore the council's control over them was limited. Irresponsible dumping in these quarries could be a potential time-bomb with devastating consequences for the region's aquifers. Controls obviously needed to be tightened.

This was an obvious area for co-operation between counties and the city since all the local authorities shared the same challenge. The result was the Christchurch Metropolitan Refuse

PAPARUA COUNTY COUNCIL
STAGE ONE
RAL & RECREATIONAL CENTRE
GOULDING AVENUE
PAPARUA COUNTY COUNCIL
CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL CENTRE
THIS FOUNDATION STONE WAS LAID BY THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE PAPARUA COUNTY COUNCIL
MR J.Y. PETHIG
ON THE SECOND DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1978
NCIDING WITH THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS
OF THE HORNBY DISTRICT

The Chairman of the Paparua County Council, Cr J. Y. Pethig, unveiling the foundation stone for the County Cultural and Recreation Centre at Hornby on 2nd September 1978, during the Hornby Centenary celebrations.

Disposal Committee which planned three Refuse Transfer Stations in the urban area to service rubbish disposal.

These stations, located at Bromley, Redwood and Sockburn, were enclosed in buildings which virtually eliminated the problems of odour and unsightliness associated with open tips. The stations processed and compressed the rubbish for further bulk removal to the landfill project in a geologically safe area at Bottle Lake Plantation in Queens Park.

Paparua County's Station in Parkhouse Road, Sockburn, came into operation in 1982 and proved a great success. Paparua County has also led the way in the Christchurch area by pioneering the use of paper rubbish bags (later plastic) for rubbish removal in place of the slower and more labour intensive emptying of rubbish bins. Other local bodies followed suit.

In September 1978, Hornby celebrated its centenary. Mrs. Margaret Brown, the Centenary Committee Secretary recalled how Hornby had been named after a Captain Hornby who had been a guest of the Riccarton Jockey Club. The town had grown from humble beginnings in 1878 into a thriving and happy community. With appropriate timing the council was able to open its new County Cultural Centre in Hornby towards the end of the following year.

The main County Library now had a suitable and attractive home after temporary accommodation. The centre was also a first in New Zealand since it incorporated a range of different bodies. Apart from the County Library there were also a government department (Social Welfare) and voluntary agencies (the Citizen's Advice Bureau and Disturbed Children's Aid Movement). Three churches were also represented in the Centre (Anglican, Catholic and Methodist) as was a service club (Hornby Rotary). In later years other community services such as a Legal Advice Centre, a Toy Library and a Community Shop selling second-hand clothes also operated from the centre.

The County Council had prepared for the library's move by appointing Ken Ocock as County Librarian in 1977. The new library soon proved a popular venue for both children and adults in the area.

The Hornby Library was not the only lending facility in the county. Apart from a small children's library in Hei Hei, the county had also gained a well- established library in Halswell as a result of the amalgamation in 1968. The Halswell Library became the oldest in the county since it had been established several years before the turn of the century.

Other community libraries were located at Tai Tapu and Ladbrooks and the council gave some financial assistance to the Sir John McKenzie Memorial Children's Library at Church Corner, Upper Riccarton.

In 1980 Paparua's rural area was boosted by the world ploughing championships that were successfully held on the Broadfield properties of Mr. Jim Smith and his son Bruce.

One of the oldest established families in the area, the Smiths date their farming activities back to a crown grant of 56 acres in June 1865. Bruce Smith later went on to represent New Zealand at the 1989 world ploughing contest in Norway.

This was the second time that the event had been hosted in the county. Under the patronage of the Lincoln Ploughing Association, a world championship had been held back in 1967, hosted jointly by Jim Smith and his neighbour Ray Wilson.

Broadfield proved an ideal venue for the event on both occasions. The soil types adapted readily to the requirements of a ploughing match and Broadfield's closeness to Lincoln, the airport and to Lyttelton harbour made access easy for many of the overseas competitors who chose to bring their own ploughing equipment and even tractors with them to the competition.

In the following years some familiar problems associated with growth surfaced again. The Meadow Mushrooms plant had been built in Prebbleton village and was steadily expanding its operations. Mushroom growing sounds an innocent enough operation and the factory provided

useful employment, but the County Council came to regret that the plant had not been situated on a farm.

In fairness to the owners and the council it was perhaps difficult to have foreseen at the outset just how many complaints would be made over the years about the compost odours or the chemical that the company used to fumigate the soil.

The pelt processing plant belonging to Waitaki New Zealand Refrigerating Ltd. alongside the Halswell Junction Road was another target in March 1983 for complaints about 'putrid' effluent smells. In the following month, one of the Paparua councillors argued that the Canterbury Bye-Products factory near the Sockburn railway station should be closed down if its owners did not do something about the smell it put out.

It was not long before this factory did, in fact close: Canterbury Bye-Products was one of the oldest plants in Canterbury and had become obsolete.

In the 1980s people were undoubtedly less tolerant of industrial pollution. Their parents might have suffered noise, hazardous fumes and pollution without thinking much about it, but attitudes were changing. People were starting to demand higher standards of safety and cleanliness in their environment. In line with increased worldwide consciousness, modern technology had developed sensitive instruments to measure such things as air and noise pollution.

It was one thing to measure, however, and quite another to enforce. No one wanted jobs to be lost. Sometimes the problem was simply one of visual pollution, as in the case of the several unsightly car disposal yards in the County which gathered car bodies for recycling.

The Paparua County Council could draw some comfort from the fact that it was not alone in its dilemma; similar problems faced local authorities in most industrialised countries. New Zealand's problems in this regard were very minor by western standards.

The council was able to register two significant improvements in this area, however. In the case of new industrial development the council was able to insist that the office blocks be placed at the front of the section and that a certain amount of landscaping be undertaken in co-ordination with the council's grass berms. These provisions markedly enhanced the appearance of the newer industrial areas.

The council also made a start with the undergrounding of services. The Main South Road now serves as an example of the difference this can make to the eye. Streets that in the words of Cr. Eddie Britnell, chairman of the Sockburn District Community Council, used to look like "Hong Kong on laundry day" are now uncluttered by overhead wires and poles leaning at odd angles.

In December, 1983, the Chairman of Paparua received a special honour. Cr. Jack Pethig had been involved in community affairs since 1940, when he had been appointed a member of the Halswell Hall Committee.

He had also been on the Halswell County Council for many years, and had served as chairman from 1962 to 1968. After the amalgamation with Paparua County he had served on the enlarged County Council and had become chairman in 1976. The Queen's Service Order was a fitting tribute to such a long and distinguished career in local government.

Arsonists struck the County Library at Hornby in December 1984. Ken Ocock, the County Librarian, reported to the council that 80 per cent of the books had been damaged. The council embarked upon a reconstruction programme. There was also reconstruction work to be done at Sockburn Park.

This recreational complex was situated in a disused quarry which had seemed an ideal place for a swimming pool. Poor compaction, however, had caused subsidence, particularly in the tiered seating surrounding the original pool and the council therefore decided to build a new

swimming pool and re-design the whole site at a cost of $368,000.

There was also growing awareness of the need to preserve some of the historic places in the county. The County Council listed 13 of these in its district planning scheme as being worthy of protection. One such building was Huntly, the historic home built by George Holmes on Yaldhurst Road in 1878.

A better known example was Chokebore Lodge, opposite the Riccarton Race Course, which is now a Racing Museum. The cob building itself is 129 years old: it had been erected in 1856 by John Willis, who used to run coaches along the West Coast Road.

In 1874 the property was bought by Henry Redwood, the well-known horse trainer and racer. Redwood was also a first-class shot and the name 'Chokebore Lodge' commemorates what was comparatively new at the time: the greater accuracy afforded by a full-choke barrel on a shotgun.

Also listed were three churches (St. Peter's at Church Corner, St. Saviour's at Templeton and St. Paul's at Tai Tapu) as well as the house at the corner of Selwyn and Shands Roads that had formerly been the Wheatsheaf Hotel.

Communities all over New Zealand were feeling the effects of the sharemarket crash at the end of 1987. In June 1988, for example, the council received a letter from Graeme Lee, the National Party spokesman on Local Government expressing his deep concern about the growing unemployment problem. He sought the council's response to the concept of a "community job creation" scheme based upon a more efficient PEP concept. The council supported the idea in principle.

In common with what was happening in the rest of the country, Paparua County also suffered the loss of a number of factories and businesses which failed in the sharp economic downturn that followed the sharemarket collapse.

The closing of Islington Meat Works, a victim of outdated plant and a fiercely competitive market, was a serious blow to the Hornby/Islington area in July, 1988. The works had been a familiar landmark in the area for decades, and had provided employment for many. It was also historically significant as an early force in an industry that had transformed the Canterbury economy.

Another loss was the Crown Crystal Glass works in Hornby. Here again several hundred were made redundant when the company shifted production to Auckland and the impact was greater than the closure of the Meat Works because more local people had been employed at the factory.

The wave of deregulation also cast doubt upon the future of the Sockburn Joint Vehicle Testing Station. This project, established in 1967, had initially been a very successful co-operative venture between Waimairi, Paparua and Riccarton. Being right next to the Sockburn office, the station was administered by Paparua although Waimairi was in fact the largest shareholder in the venture.

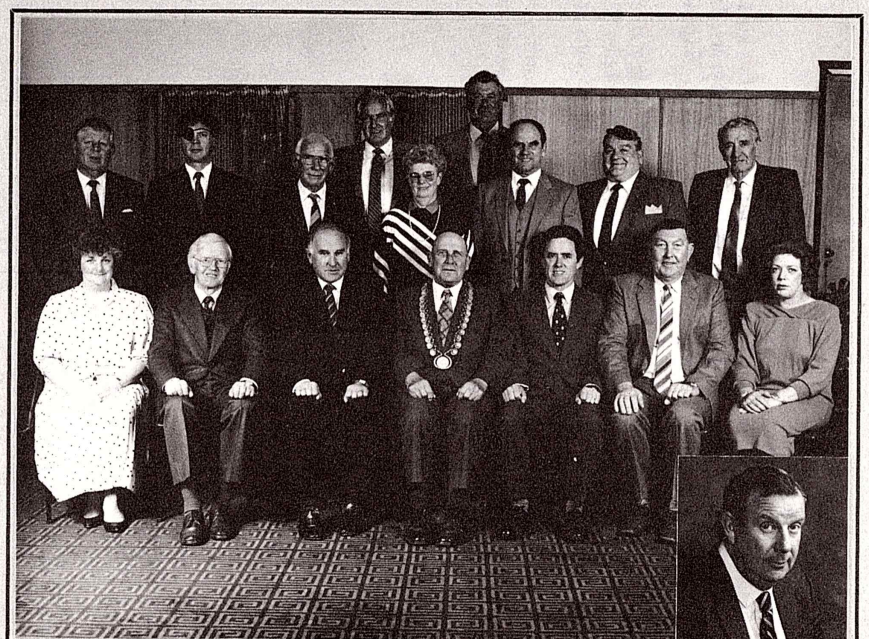
In its best years the station issued in excess of 80,000 warrants, but the number of vehicles passing through the station dropped off sharply when the Ministry of Transport allowed more private garages to issue Warrants of Fitness. By 1989 the warrants issued had stabilised at around 40,000 and more aggressive marketing tactics were starting to raise numbers again.

In spite of these difficulties, the Paparua County came to the end of its days in November 1989 in remarkably good health. The staff and council had several reasons to feel proud. There had never been a financial scandal or mismanagement of funds. If this record of prudent, careful administration seems dull it was at least honest.

The long service records of the county staff testify to a working atmosphere that was friendly and co-operative. County staff had an 'open door' policy towards ratepayers. It was possible, for example, for a ratepayer to walk into the Sockburn Offices and speak directly to the County

Paparua County Council

1989



Julian Clothier Photographer (03) 489-016

A. L. JENNINGS J.P. B. A. TURNER

B. H. ANDERSON J. S. M. KYLE W. S. LONGMAN J.P. M. I. CORBETT J. P. BUTLER R. L. TROON J.P. R. G. PEARCE

L. I. CONNELLY E. C. BRITNELL J.P. B. L. MOOAR J.P. (County Clerk) J. Y. PETHIG QSO, J.P. (County Chairman) A. C. WATSON (County Engineer) W J. BAKER J.P. (Deputy County Chairman) J. M. E. CALVERT

RESIGNED: D. J. W. HAMPTON J.P., 23 NOVEMBER, 1987.

INSET: D. J. CUNNINGHAM

Engineer about a roading or drainage problem. The staff came to know many ratepayers by name. It is doubtful whether the ratepayers will ever again enjoy this closeness with those who serve them.

At the end of its life the county possessed substantial resources and could provide sophisticated services to the ratepayers. On the other hand the county population at 33,000 was still small enough to allow personal contact. Many people would consider such a combination ideal for local government in New Zealand. The future could well prove them right.

5. The Inheritance

What exactly did the new Christchurch City Council inherit?

The Paparua County Council's Information Booklet for 1988 - the last of its kind - gives a good indication of how substantial Paparua's finances had become in its final years. Estimated receipts from the four District Councils were $6,466,123 for the 88/89 year. Expenditure on salaries and administrative expenses was estimated at $1,684,733.

The council also budgetted $728,840 for libraries, parks, swimming pools and recreation. Roading, footpaths, street lighting, refuse collection and disposal absorbed another $2,813,425 whilst levies and grants to other authorities amounted to $506,686. All accounts projected a credit balance.

In addition, the County Council also levied rates on behalf of various authorities. The total is so large (approximately 45 per cent of the ratepayer's dollar) that it is worth noting the recipients. The list also effectively serves to refute charges of parochialism:

Canterbury Promotion Council	18,200
Canterbury United Council and the Urban Transport Levy	1,224,736
Canterbury Museum	123,685
Christchurch Town Hall & Car Park	190,693
Civil Defence	29,200
Mount Vernon Appeal	404
Riccarton Bush	6,020
Joint Council for Local Authority Services	3,000
Christchurch Drainage Board	2,640,338
North Canterbury Catchment Board	889,898
	$5,126,174

The combined receipts therefore show that the Paparua County Council was administering funds totalling $11,592,297. This was a far cry from the county's very modest beginnings in 1911.

In addition, the new City Council inherited 432 kilometres of tarsealed roads, an extensive water-race system as well as several libraries and a variety of parks, domains, recreational facilities and swimming pools. The Paparua County Council could be rightly proud of what it was handing on to the new authority.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Amalgamation Saga

For much of the county's last few years, the question of amalgamation absorbed a good deal of the County Council's attention. But the final arrangement imposed upon counties in the greater Christchurch area in November, 1989 should be seen in its historical perspective: it is just one - and quite possibly not the definitive version - of many permutations considered over the years.

It might be wisest to consider the whole question of amalgamation as a journey towards some elusive goal of perfect local government rather than an arrival.

Different ways of administering local affairs in Canterbury have been hotly debated ever since the Pilgrims arrived in the 1850s. The argument for amalgamating Christchurch and its peri-urban suburbs dates back to the 1890s, with the city fairly consistently arguing the case for unification.

One step along this path to more effective local government was the Selwyn County Subdivision Act of 1911. As this record has shown, the reshuffling of the pieces started almost immediately, with Paparua County gaining the West Melton Riding from Malvern County.

After the second decade of the 20th century, the demand for better roads created by the rapid spread of motor cars started to reveal the shortcomings of the smaller counties. Many of them simply lacked the resources to function properly as local authorities.

But parochialism defeated most attempts at amalgamation. Members of Parliament might agree about the need for such amalgamation, but knew only too well that to support any move that might jeopardise the position of local councillors or board members would almost certainly endanger their holds on their own electorates.

Proposals for local government reform continued to surface either locally or nationally at regular intervals. As has been noted, in 1932 the Paparua County Chairman, James Leslie, raised the possibility of the smaller counties amalgamating with the larger ones in order to rationalise administrative costs. His comments anticipated the amalgamation of Paparua and Halswell Counties by 36 years.

In the following year, though, the consensus of opinion at the Counties Conference of 1933 was definitely against amalgamation despite the arguments of the the minister in charge in favour of larger and stronger counties.

Three years later in 1936, the ravages of the Great Depression were mostly over, but the strains that the period had imposed upon local government were reflected in general criticism. Paparua County had perhaps been fortunate in weathering the depression better than many of the smaller local authorities with fewer resources and less competent management, but it was not immune from attack.

The County Chairman responded to this critical atmosphere at the council meeting in June 1936:

> There is again much talk and newspaper correspondence regarding amalgamation of Local Bodies with leading articles stressing the point that Local Bodies have failed in their work. I do not think that that can be substantiated but if it has any foundation whatever, it has been brought about by the cramping attitude of the government and Government Departments....It is unfair of the government to curtail the functions of

Local Bodies and then accuse them of failing in the performance of their duties.

In the following year the first Labour Government introduced the Local Government Amalgamation Bill. This bill proposed to reduce the number of counties in New Zealand by a third. Chairman James Leslie recorded the council's reaction:

> This council has taken its usual sane view and has kept an open mind. I believe that, as a council, we would welcome amalgamation if we could be convinced that it would result in greater efficiency at a reduced cost. We feel, however, that the matter is too momentous for undue haste or for action without some mandate from the man who provides the working expenses, viz., the ratepayer.

As it turned out, there was absolutely no need for fears about "undue haste": Paparua County would last for another 50 years. The Clerk's Report at the 1938 Annual Meeting is also interesting. It reveals that Paparua had actually approached Halswell County, no doubt as a result of these background pressures, for "preliminary negotiations" and that a "friendly spirit (had been) manifested". The courtship was destined to be a lengthy one.

Towards the end of the Second World War the amalgamation saga was taken up again. In 1947 a permanent Local Government Commission was set up and urged to finalise a new dispensation. Matters now seemed more urgent: a public enquiry in Christchurch began in May, 1948. The enquiry heard 104 witnesses in 40 days and the commission's report subsequently recommended including all the area likely to be urbanised within the next 25 years under an expanded Christchurch City. This included Paparua County as far west as Islington.

Paparua and 11 other counties gathered at a special meeting in August 1949 to consider their position. The meeting endorsed a scheme for a 'buffer' county surrounding the city comprising portions of Waimairi, Heathcote, Halswell and Paparua Counties. The four counties decided to engage a solicitor to represent their interests and to prepare evidence.

A mere four months later, however, at the December, 1949 Annual Meeting the Paparua Chairman, W.H. Overton, clearly imagined that the amalgamation question had virtually been finalised:

> Since the last Annual Meeting the Local Government Commission has promulgated the final scheme for amalgamation with the City of Christchurch, the boundary being Gilberthorpes Road, Seymour Street and Awatea Road. This leaves the New Zealand Refrigerating Company in the county and includes Wigram in the city. The Prime Minister has only to have the order in council gazetted to finalise this scheme.

He concluded that "this is probably the last Annual Report that any chairman will present on behalf of Paparua County as at present constituted" and devoted the rest of his report to praising past councillors and county officials.

His eulogy was premature. The integrity of Paparua County was saved by the change of government from Labour to National and at the next Annual Meeting in December, 1950, the chairman was able to dismiss a fading danger. Nevertheless, he raised an issue which would surface again in the 1980s:

> I feel that it will be necessary for this council to join with the other minority group to convince the Local Government Committee that, if electors are to be given the option of deciding for themselves it would be most unfair to do as the Minister suggests, i.e.,

to take one vote over the whole area as the city could, by its greater numbers, outvote everyone else.

The County Council felt strongly enough about this issue to record a special motion at a council meeting three years later in June 1953. It sincerely hoped "that in any legislation brought forward by the government in dealing with amalgamation of counties, provision be made to give affected electors the right of a poll".

In the end, the Labour Government in the late 1980s would outflank this whole issue by simply avoiding a vote altogether.

The next move came in 1956 when the Local Government Commission called a meeting of Paparua, Springs and Halswell Counties. The chairman of the commission suggested that the urban areas should consider the advantages of joining Christchurch. In the case of Paparua, this involved Sockburn and Hornby.

The urban representatives of Paparua agreed that the matter should be looked into, but also expressed the view that the move could not be warranted until Riccarton Borough and much of Waimairi County also made a move to join the city.

The County Council then called a special meeting to consider amalgamation matters in August, 1956. It was evident that pressure from the Local Government Commission was starting to cause divisions within Paparua County. In particular, the two County Towns feared a dilution of their position if Paparua amalgamated with the predominantly rural Springs and Halswell Counties.

Bob Roberts, Chairman of Hornby County Town Committee, stated that the Paparua County was a strong economic unit and he saw no reason why it should be broken up for the sake of assisting the weaker counties.

The position of the Sockburn County Town Committee was similar. The Committee Chairman, Jim Weaver, stated that Sockburn would not itself break away unless forced to do so. He revealed that difficulties experienced by the two urban areas in getting their recommendations carried out was one of the reasons why they had been considering setting up a separate borough.

The thought of a greatly increased rural component in an enlarged county was clearly seen as a threat to the interests of both County Towns.

Nevertheless, the meeting ended up approving a motion favouring the division of the county. It supported the Local Government Commission's suggestion that the rural portion of the county join Springs and Halswell.

The motion suggested various possibilities for the portion of Paparua County within the urban fence: this might form a separate borough or county, or amalgamate with either Christchurch City or Waimairi.

Matters advanced swiftly. A special committee meeting on September 10, 1956 brought together the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the three counties. They discussed new boundaries and agreed that representation in the new county would be: Paparua, six members; Springs, four members; and Halswell, three members. They even agreed on a county centre at Lincoln and generally favoured Lincoln also as the name of the new county.

All this sounds fairly cut and dried, but things were not going to be so straightforward. At the end of October, Jim Weaver presided as chairman over a Sockburn County Town Committee and put forward five points:

i) the urban districts in Paparua were inadequately represented;
ii) Paparua was big and valuable enough as a county to stand on its own in his opinion;

iii) the development requirements of Springs and Halswell would tend to increase the rates of the present Paparua County. Paparua had little, if anything, to gain from amalgamation and a great deal to lose;
iv) Sockburn was not interested in amalgamation with either Waimairi or Christchurch;
v) the Local Government Commission should be asked to give stability for at least 15 years to whatever form of administration was finally decided upon.

His final point reveals that the strain of negotiations and the resultant uncertainty were beginning to tell. At a Paparua County Annual Meeting in November 1956, the County Chairman, David Henderson, stated that the amalgamation of Springs and Halswell Counties with the Rural District of Paparua would very probably come about within a reasonable time.

He went on to blame the urban areas for wishing to break away and cited a previous council motion that the Paparua County was only interested in the amalgamation if the whole county was included.

Cr. Weaver's response was to accuse the Rural District members of endeavouring to bulldoze something through while they retained a four to one majority. He reminded the council that the urban areas had only two representatives although they comprised 54 per cent of the county.

This kind of tension was new to Paparua County, but fortunately it did not last long. David Henderson stood down as County Chairman after this meeting and in his last chairman's report at the end of the year he commented that "the likelihood of amalgamation, with the consequent lack of stability, has (had) a most unsettling effect upon all council administration". He added that "I am sure it will be to the benefit of all concerned when this matter is finally settled".

It was a diplomatic understatement. Doubts about the wisdom of amalgamation now began to surface at the meetings chaired by Henderson's successor, Arnold Campion. At a Finance Committee meeting in December, 1956, for example, Cr. Borland said that he could not understand why the break in the county had to come about. He considered Paparua County to be "one of the finest in New Zealand".

The end of this particular battle came nine months later in September 1957. Halswell ratepayers and residents had turned against the proposals and were demanding a poll. The rural areas of Paparua were also beginning to have doubts, particularly as the urban section of Paparua had by now been extended to include the Yaldhurst, Templeton and Islington Ridings. The amalgamation with Springs alone seemed decidedly less attractive to the remaining rural Ridings of West Melton, Broadfield, Prebbleton and Ladbrooks.

The coup de grâce came, oddly enough, from the chairman of the Local Government Commission himself. He appreciated the efforts Paparua had made towards amalgamation, but understood that Paparua had little to gain from amalgamation compared with the other two smaller counties. It seemed unfortunate, he said, that Paparua was being asked to divide especially when the benefits to it from amalgamation were not particularly great.

He added that the days of division between urban and rural local government in New Zealand were over and there was no real reason why Sockburn and Hornby could not remain part of the Paparua County for many years to come until they were ready to join in a metropolitan administration.

As far as Paparua was concerned, the matter was now dead. The County Chairman reflected gratefully in July 1958 that "we can now proceed with our functions in the administration of our county with a feeling of much greater stability which has long been lacking due to the protracted negotiations on the amalgamation question".

Springs County, though, had different ideas. Two months later the Paparua Chairman noted

that "a small section of our County ratepayers has been persuaded to petition (the Local Government Commission) to be joined with the Springs County". Since this was something that might well snowball, Paparua had to come up with a counter strategy.

The council decided to petition the Local Government Commission to allow Paparua to absorb the whole of Springs County. If the minnow was nibbling at the giant, the giant would offer to swallow the minnow.

The Springs County Council reacted with alarm. It advised the Local Government Commission that it did not want to be absorbed into Paparua, but merely wanted the commission to consider the inclusion of approximately 1,687 acres of Paparua County into Springs.

The Paparua County Council promptly told the commission that it strongly opposed any such loss of its territory. The result was a stalemate, with the Paparua Chairman reflecting in his June 1959 Report that:

> We have offered Springs amalgamation on the fairest possible terms....if, in the meantime the Springs County wishes to continue to look after its own affairs despite what appears to be distinct advantages to its own ratepayers in an amalgamation with Paparua, we need do no more than inform the commission of the present position.

Springs County battled on a little longer. Its stubbornness seemed to be the result of economic difficulties. It now returned to the original plan and stated publicly that it favoured the whole of Springs County amalgamating with the rural portion of Paparua. It envisaged the excluded Sockburn and Hornby sections as ultimately forming a separate borough.

Paparua would not budge. At a meeting in October, 1959, the County Chairman summarised the council's position:

> It is the view of the Paparua County Council that a complete amalgamation of the two counties is preferable to any minor boundary adjustments especially as it appears that, for economic reasons, the Springs County requires either to add to its territory or sooner or later to amalgamate with someone.

The figures provided by the chairman underlined the difference in size quite clearly:

County	Rateable Value	Population	No. of properties
Paparua	£17,101,680	16,000	4,100
Springs	2,732,535	3,500	1,300

The end came in the form of a poll in the following year. The Paparua Chairman reported in September, 1960 that although only 33 per cent of the Paparua electors had bothered to vote, a substantial majority opposed amalgamation. The county now enjoyed a lull for a few years before the amalgamation issue raised its head again. The break must have been most welcome.

The pressure was on again in the mid-1960s. The government had, in fact, passed the Local Government Commission Act in 1961. This was the fourth attempt at reforming local government since 1946. As the commission had 715 local authorities throughout New Zealand to contend with, it is no surprise that it was some time before the pressure was felt in Canterbury.

In 1965, an informal meeting between Lyttelton, Heathcote, Mount Herbert and Paparua discussed various combinations of partnership. The meeting was inconclusive: Jack Pethig, Chairman of Halswell and later also Chairman of Paparua County, recalled that these gatherings

were often the result of "the cold wind of adversity blowing up people's kilts". As soon as the pressure was off, no more would be heard from counties who had previously showed great eagerness in approaching their neighbours with various plans.

Paparua and Halswell, however, had renewed their courtship in the previous year and this was to prove fruitful before the end of the '60s.

Elsewhere the battlelines were being drawn up. A press article in early 1967 publicised the Christchurch City Engineer's report to the City Council that sound planning of the area would be very much facilitated if all the urban area were merged into one authority which was surrounded by one, or perhaps two, rural counties.

Barry Rich, the chairman of Waimairi, leapt into a vigorous counter-attack in April 1967 by stating that Waimairi believed the interests of all would best be served by several strong units of local government in the metropolitan area. His language was hardly conciliatory:

> We cannot subscribe to the kind of megalomania generated by certain commercial and political interests in other territorial areas. To do so would be contrary to both the economic and democratic interests of the ratepayers and residents of this area.

These two arguments give the basic structure of the struggle that was to follow: this would generally take the form of the city versus its peri-urban neighbours.

The major newspapers tended to support the city. In a July 1967 editorial, the *Christchurch Press* criticised the slow progress of local government reform throughout the country. It pointed out that although the commission had been operating for five years, only 34 of the 715 local authorities had been abolished. The paper commented that "New Zealand has far too many local authorities" and continued:

> Unfortunately, not enough ratepayers...realise the cost of inefficiency and so they often vote against proposals for reform. Every year the smaller authorities lose ground in their efforts to provide the services demanded of them. Every year undertakings needed by the growing population in the main cities are neglected, deferred or by-passed because, under the present fragmented system of government, agreement between authorities is lacking or individual action is impossible.

The commentary concluded by criticising the "parochial outlook" that made some local authorities oppose reform "tooth and nail". It is also significant that the paper quoted the commission's assurance to parliament that substantial savings would result from the reorganisation of local government. A similar claim would surface again in the late 1980s as a rationale for reorganisation.

In the Canterbury region Paparua and Halswell set a rare good example by their successful marriage in 1968. But if the expanded Paparua County Council imagined that this move rendered it invulnerable to any further restructuring, it soon had to think again. A more radical proposal was in the offing.

In December 1971, the Local Government Commission announced no less than a plan to abolish Paparua County by dividing it between Christchurch City and the proposed new Banks Peninsula and Selwyn Counties. This must have been a considerable shock to the County Council. It registered its objection to this fragmentation of the county in February 1972.

Paparua County had always been proud of the fact that party politics played no part in council decision making. Now Doug Warren, the County Chairman, asked rhetorically, "Would our people be better administered under the political system of local government which has not

shown up in a very good light?''

The matter simmered on; a year later, in February 1973, the Paparua County Chairman was again on the counter-attack. He pointed out that Sydney was in fact made up of 39 separate cities, all of about the same size. Melbourne comprised 42 separate cities, whilst the closest Australian model for Christchurch, her sister city of Adelaide (population about 700,000), was administered by 21 separate metropolitan local authorities averaging 35,000 in population.

All these Australian cities therefore were governed by division into smaller units of a size that fostered a community spirit and allowed for a closeness between the staff, the elected representatives and the ratepayers.

Paparua itself at about 30,000 people was close to the Adelaide model. Doug Warren argued that it was surely desirable that Christchurch be similarly administered in order to retain genuine local government and and a proper local service to the community. His conclusion was forcefully stated:

> Only if government by legislation forces compulsory acceptance of the commission's scheme without a poll of the people affected, is any substantial readjustment likely to be brought about and any such action would in my opinion, be undemocratic and contrary to the wishes of the great majority.

His words proved remarkably prophetic: 17 years later it would indeed take an Act of Parliament to bring about the government's desired local government reforms.

Local newspapers and other parties continued the background pressure for restructuring. An editorial in the *Christchurch Star* in November 1974 is typical in its claim that ''as a whole the New Zealand local body structure is unwieldy and expensive and it is crying out for reform''. The editorial concluded that ''the government's determination to push on with (reform) is fully warranted''.

This latter comment was a reaction to the new Labour Government's Local Government Act of 1974 which was intended to encourage mergers among local bodies.

Three years later in August 1977, the *Christchurch Press* devoted an article to N.A. Griffith, secretary of the Political Renewal Group, who urged unity and deplored the illogical and arbitrary existing county divisions. Griffith argued that ''no-one in an aeroplane over Christchurch...would be able to guess the boundaries of the Borough of Riccarton''. He added that ''the actual edges of Paparua and Heathcote would be just as obscure and meaningless''.

In June of the following year, the *Star* quoted the Town Clerk of Christchurch, John Gray, as commenting that New Zealand had often been described as ''one of the world's most-governed countries'' because of the sheer number of governing bodies at the local government level.

Hamish Hay, the Mayor of Christchurch, reinforced this line of thinking in April 1981, when he maintained that ''substantial savings'' could be made across the city if parochial differences were buried and economics were examined. In October 1984, Hamish Hay was again urging the newly elected Labour Government to reform local government.

The new government soon showed an unremitting zeal for reforming just about everything in New Zealand and it quickly became clear that local government reform was very much on its agenda. After all the false starts and stops of the past, things now looked far more serious for the future of Paparua County.

The County Council made sure that its position was known. In September 1985, Jack Pethig, the County Chairman, reiterated the council's stand against further amalgamation. He pointed out that the county comprised a population of 32,000 people, ''more than the population of some existing cities in New Zealand'' and that ''this mixed urban-rural community has lived

harmoniously, one with the other, since the early 1900s''.

The proposal that the whole of Paparua should join a one or two city set-up would certainly be unacceptable to the large rural population of Paparua ''which this council intends to protect''.

Not everyone connected with Christchurch City was in favour of amalgamation. In February 1986 the *Christchurch Press* reported that some Christchurch Councillors told Brian Elwood, chairman of the Local Government Commission, that their ratepayers wanted the status quo maintained. His response was: ''Forget it''.

Brian Elwood went on to give nine reasons why the existing system of local government was simply not an option:

i) The present boundaries were illogical;

ii) Christchurch appeared to be one geographical and physical community;

iii) the smaller Christchurch councils inevitably had difficulty in paying qualified administrative and technical staff;

iv) the duplication of administrative and technical staff led to extra costs;

v) there were obvious unequal contributions to the costs of running the metropolitan community;

vi) greater efficiency and and effectiveness would result through a unified management structure;

vii) rationalisation would bring savings to the ratepayers;

viii) a metropolitan area like Christchurch should be able to plan its future comprehensively and cost efficiently through common by-laws, building code and planning ordinances;

ix) Metropolitan Christchurch should be able to speak with a united voice with government and the private sector.

Despite all this, it seemed for a while as if the commission's attention was focused mainly on Paparua's neighbours. In June 1986, the Paparua Chairman was indicating that any change to Paparua seemed unlikely. He explained that the Paparua County had not been included in the current round of amalgamation talks and that changes in the near future seemed unlikely.

This sense of security might have derived in part from the comments of the Local Government Commission's Chairman. Brian Elwood had at one stage reportedly praised Paparua County as a successful example of local government because of its District Community Council structures. But any feeling of invulnerability that the county might have been lulled into was not to last long.

Elsewhere, all planned resistance was being forestalled. In October 1987, Dr. Bassett, the Minister concerned, made it quite clear that the government would not allow local bodies to thwart the efforts of the Local Government Commission by resorting to court injunctions on trivial points. He said that nobody was exempt from the review and that it was just a question of whether local bodies reformed themselves or had it done for them.

By the following year it was clear that Paparua County was certainly not going to be excluded from the new dispensation. A rearguard action by some of the councillors could do little to stop the process. In July 1988, Cr. James Kyle urged that Paparua County should not be dragged into the "power grabbing paws" of the Christchurch City Council's plans for local government reform.

There were also complaints that Paparua had not been properly consulted on the boundary proposals that divided the county into urban and rural areas.

Even the newspapers at times became critical of the way that reform was being handled. An editorial in the *Press* in that same month, for example, analysed Dr. Bassett's decision temporarily to call off the Local Government Commission in order to re-define its powers and priorities.

The editorial claimed that Dr. Bassett had taken this step because "the semblance of democracy in the previous process - the right of the governed to be polled on how they want to be governed...was upsetting the breakneck timetable of reform upon which the government insists".

On July 12, parliament passed the Local Government Amendment Bill which instructed the Local Government Commission to restructure and reduce the number of all regional, territorial and ad hoc bodies in New Zealand.

The Paparua County Chairman, Jack Pethig, told a special meeting of the County Council that the implications of the new Bill meant that the status quo was "no longer an option". Paparua would simply have to accept change along with the others: "we should start again with a clean slate".

In August 1988, the County Chairman told the *Christchurch Press* that he was certain the Local Government Commission would reform Christchurch into a single giant authority. Some of the county's councillors were critical of his added remark that local bodies in the Christchurch area were resigned to one ruling authority, although the chairman made it clear that he had been speaking in his private capacity.

In any event, the battle was virtually over. By February 1989, Bryan Mooar, the County Clerk, had prepared approximate figures on the division of Paparua. The new Selwyn County would gain 64 per cent of Paparua's land area, 12.6 per cent of its population and 15 per cent of its capital value. Of the 14,000 people living in the rural parts of Paparua, 9,000 would go into the City, and 5,000 into Selwyn.

The figures made it clear that the city would get the lion's share of both population (87.4 per cent) and capital value (85 per cent) as well as most of the facilities developed by the council including the county headquarters at Sockburn.

In the meantime, the Local Government Commission's Transition Committee was already in operation and working with the affected bodies. The decisions had been made and it was the duty of this committee merely to sort out the details of the changeover. Complex though these might be, they were essentially only the details. The new dispensation was at hand. Paparua's 78 year history closed on November 1, 1989.

Many arguments were advanced for and against amalgamation during the long battle. Those with longer memories will no doubt recall the British visitor who in 1976 was quoted in the press as warning that local body reforms in England had led to soaring rates, depleted services and loss of community spirit.

As the proponents of amalgamation finally won, theirs are the claims that will now be tested, but it is only fair that they be granted a reasonable period of grace to enable them to realise their promises.

At least five years will probably have to pass before Cantabrians can definitively judge

whether the claimed savings have been realised, whether the new greater Christchurch City has achieved better co-ordination of metropolitan projects and greater efficiency in managing resources.

Ratepayers will also know by then what they have gained or lost from the new management structure.

Until that time, the many councillors and staff on the various local bodies whose lives and work have been radically affected can only hope that the uncertainty, the the upheaval and the cost to them of the whole exhausting process will all prove worthwhile.

They will also all be praying for at least a few years' stability; they know only too well that the amalgamation saga has been going on for so many years that it would be foolishly optimistic to regard this as the final chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Fuller Life

1. Churches in Paparua County

The Anglican Primacy

Since Canterbury was conceived as an Anglican settlement, the Anglican Church enjoyed a theoretical headstart in the new colony. And to ensure the established Church would occupy a dominant pastoral and educational role in the new settlement, the Canterbury Association at first required from all aspiring emigrants a certificate of membership in the Church of England.

For several reasons this attempt at religious homogeneity was to prove less than successful. Firstly, at the time of the settlement the division between the Church of England and Methodism was not complete. Many 'Church Methodists' actually received communion and even had their children baptised in local parish churches. There is therefore evidence that even on the first four ships there were a number of Methodists.

Secondly, other forms of dilution soon followed. It was not long before the Canterbury Association had to prospect in Ireland to increase emigrant numbers. There were also independent settlers already in Canterbury who often belonged to different churches. The Deans brothers at Riccarton, for example, were Presbyterians, whilst a number of the Australian 'Shagroons' who had brought their flocks to Canterbury were of other denominations, many of the Irish Australians being, of course, Roman Catholics.

Nevertheless, the Anglican Church enjoyed all the initial advantages of official backing and support for its efforts in the new colony and it is the Anglican Cathedral that appropriately dominates central Christchurch as a legacy to the aspirations of Godley and Wakefield.

The first Anglican church to be built within the boundaries of the later Paparua County was St. Peter's in Upper Riccarton. Its prominent position at the junction of Riccarton and Yaldhurst Roads makes this church one of the most familiar sights in Christchurch, and it was not long before the corner became known as Church Corner.

The present church with its graveyard is remarkably English in atmosphere; it gives the illusion of having been transported straight from some quiet English hamlet to its New Zealand setting. This church is the second built on the site and conveys more successfully than its wooden predecessor the nostalgic desire of the founding fathers to recreate an English community in the new colony.

The decision to build a church usually signifies a certain stage of growth in a community. The original St. Peter's was erected to serve the growing parish of Riccarton in 1858, just eight years after the arrival of the first four ships. The area nevertheless retained its semi-rural nature until after 1900.

At the turn of the century Upper Riccarton consisted of a village of 30 to 40 cottages, with two stores, a hotel, a smithy and a flour mill. The area only gradually succumbed to the urban embrace after the tram line to Sockburn was opened in 1905.

The ground for the church was provided by the Reverend Octavius Mathias who had selected 200 acres of Rural Section 160 on the understanding that 20 acres were to be set aside for church purposes. This glebe endowment was the only one of its kind in the Christchurch diocese and

meant that for many years the incumbent vicars could farm or lease the land at the back of Church Corner.

On October 10, 1853, the Rev. Mathias held a meeting to discuss the erection of a church. He received backing from the leading colonists, but not the grant from the Canterbury Association's church fund that he had expected. As a consequence, the first St. Peter's was not built until five years later in 1858 by which time the local population had also increased.

This first church cost £315-8-7d. with all fittings. A contemporary newspaper report described the new church as a "very pretty and English looking edifice with a handsome spire".

The new parish was fortunate in its first vicar. The 26 year old Reverend Croasdaile Bowen had come out with his parents in the first group of colonists and was one of the first to receive his theological training in Canterbury.

His large parish included Fendall Town, Halswell and initially even Governors Bay. Stories exist of Croasdaile Bowen on a Sunday galloping furiously with coattails flying on his way from Halswell back to Riccarton to meet his preaching commitments.

Although he was not strong, he served his parish well, and his English wife was as popular as himself. Particularly successful as a landscape gardener and forester, he was said, on arrival, to have found Riccarton "a grassy plain with a few farms" and to have left it "a beautiful English village". Later an Archdeacon, Bowen devoted his whole ministry to Riccarton and eventually died there in 1890.

The first Anglican church in the rural area of Paparua County was built at Prebbleton. In 1859, John Norris Tosswill donated five acres of his Rural Section 1423 to the Church of England trustees. A chapel-school was erected in July 1862 and in June 1864, the Rev. J. Wilson was licensed to the cure of Prebbleton and Templeton.

The chapel was used for 10 years before the community decided to build a proper church. John Grigg later bought the redundant chapel for £30 and shifted it to Longbeach.

The foundation stone of the new church was laid by Dr. Donald on November 16, 1871 and the building was dedicated as All Saints' Church on July 21, 1872. It was not long before extensions were needed and by 1877 the final cruciform shape of 75 by 20 feet had been achieved. But the enlarged building lasted only 29 years before being completely destroyed by fire in 1906. In the following year a third church was erected on the same site and this has lasted to the present.

Anglican church services in Templeton were apparently held in the schoolroom some four years before the church was built. Records show that the first two children to be baptised were Julia Marian Tosswill and Henry Prior in March, 1864, when Templeton and Prebbleton were still both part of the Upper Heathcote parochial district.

Anglicans in the Templeton area reacted quickly to a gift of land by Edward Templer in June 1867. F.G. Stedman promptly donated £100 to start the building fund and less than six months later St. Saviour's church was opened by Bishop Henry Harper on December 17, 1868.

The bishop returned to consecrate the church the following year when all the debt had been cleared. The addition of a spire, transept and chancel in 1874 and stained glass windows at the east end in 1881 completed the church. The building still stands next to the primary school in Kirk Street.

At first Templeton shared its vicars with Prebbleton. Templeton paid a third of the Prebbleton parsonage costs and shared all other costs equally. An unusual arrangement succeeded this one in 1877 when Templeton and Prebbleton became separate parishes, but continued to share the same vicar.

In 1895, when the two parishes failed to meet stipend requirements, a new arrangement reduced both to a common parochial district. A final permutation in 1956 saw Templeton come

within the boundaries of the newly formed Hornby parish.

Churches at Halswell and Yaldhurst owed much to the initiative of St Peter's at Upper Riccarton. St. Mary's at Halswell was opened by Bishop Harper in November 1863 and laid claim to being the first church on the plains south of Christchurch. The early records of this church appear to have been lost, but the Rev. Croasdaile Bowen, Vicar of St. Peter's, apparently furnished its design and was in charge at Halswell from 1862 (when a chapel-at-ease was in existence) to 1876. In 1891 the whole building was renovated.

At Yaldhurst, Anglican services were conducted in private houses by the Rev. Francis Hare from 1876. St. Luke's church in School Road was consecrated on October 18, 1893. Built on a half-acre section donated by John Taylor, the church cost a total of £275. Both the interior and the shingled roof had to be repaired in 1948 and by 1957 more extensive repairs, including a corrugated iron roof, were completed for £400. The church continues to be served by visiting ministers from St. Peter's in Upper Riccarton.

Further down the Akaroa road from Halswell, Tai Tapu gained its church somewhat later. In 1875, Tai Tapu was declared a portion of the parochial district of Lincoln and the Rev. Harry Stocker was nominated as curate. He held his first services in this same year in the local school-room, but the congregation was soon strong enough to build a church and this was consecrated as St. Paul's by Bishop Harper in November 1876.

By 1929, the deterioration of the church building was causing concern: the choice for the congregation lay in expensive maintenance or a new building. In that same year, however, Sir Heaton Rhodes's wife died. The Rhodes family had always been generous supporters of the local church, and in the following year Sir Heaton offered to present parishioners of St. Paul's with a new church in memory of Lady Rhodes.

This rather fine building, designed by Mr Cecil Wood of Christchurch, was consecrated on September 26, 1930.

All Saints' church at Burnham lays claim to the title of 'First Church on the Plains', but this could certainly be disputed by the Anglican communities in Prebbleton and Halswell. The first simple wooden structure with an open, high-pitched shingled roof was completed by Easter 1864 on a section near Burnham donated by Richard Bethell.

The strength of support for the new church was shown by a congregation of more than a hundred who attended the consecration. The Rev Henry Harper commented later that "after nearly five years of worship in woolsheds and houses, one cannot help feeling deeply grateful for the achievement of a building, well-furnished and dedicated to the Glory of God".

After 1875 the local support for All Saints' diminished, largely because seven other Anglican churches were built between 1868 and 1878 within a 10 mile radius of Burnham. All Saints' was the parent of at least three: St. Matthew's in Halkett (1873), St. Mary's in Springston (1875) and St. Stephen's in Lincoln (1877).

In 1896 the congregation appealed to the bishop for financial aid. A contemporary manuscript expressed their dilemma in quaint terms: "the Anglican population of the parish (has) steadily decreased, one man after another selling his land and leaving, his place being taken by Presbyterians and dissenters". There was apparently little relief from episcopal quarters because the records reveal that the resident vicar, the Rev. A.R.C. Tosswill, departed for Tapanui in May 1897.

In 1903, the church building was removed to the Industrial School in Burnham, where it served both the boys and the local community. After the school closed in 1919 the area was taken over by the Defence Department and by 1923 All Saints' had gained the courtesy title of garrison church.

St Stephen's church in Lincoln was not, strictly speaking, within the boundaries of the

Paparua County, but certainly served parishioners from adjacent county areas such as Broadfields.

The church was opened in August, 1877 by the ubiquitous Bishop Harper. Enlargements for an extra 105 people were completed by 1886 at the same time as the roof was renewed. The present church building is almost identical with that of 1886.

In West Melton, Archdeacon J. Wilson from Riccarton conducted the first Anglican service at the school in 1872. Twelve years later, on November 28, 1884, Bishop Harper consecrated the Church as St. Paul's.

John Hill, who became a lay-reader in the church, appears to have been the energising influence behind the establishment of the church: over 200 people attended an 1881 function at which he was presented with a testimonial recording the district's gratitude.

In the early years the church was under the care of Riccarton, but from 1884 to 1942 St. Paul's became part of the parochial District of Courtenay. A shortage of clergy during the Second World War resulted in the church becoming attached to Prebbleton. St. Paul's later became part of the Hornby Parochial District.

St. Columba's in Hornby dates from 1906. In 1864, the curate at Halswell was put in charge of Prebbleton, Templeton and Islington, and these areas were formed into twin parishes in April 1866. Services began in the Islington area shortly after the Canterbury Meat Company started operations in 1871.

By the end of 1871 these had become fairly regular with an average attendance of about 40 people. This increased gradually as the Meat Company grew larger and expanded its operations. In 1889 a Sunday School was started. Parishioners met in May 1901 to discuss a church building fund and the existing site of the present St. Columba's was purchased in 1904 for £40. The new church was finally opened on August 19, 1906 but another 51 years passed before a vicarage was added in 1957.

At the annual meeting in 1957, Hornby parishioners reviewed the rapid growth in their district. Hornby had, by now, become a parochial district and the area was continuing to grow. Much of this expansion was taking place in Hei Hei, parts of which were two miles from St. Columba's.

The decision was made to build a satellite church in Hei Hei and in December, 1958 St. Aidan's came into being. It soon fulfilled expectations: by 1961 it had regular attendances at services and over 100 children at the Sunday School.

In 1981 the Horny Parish was formed to include the two churches in the Hornby area as well as the Anglican churches at Templeton and West Melton.

Irish and French: The Catholic Influence

The second largest church in Canterbury established an early presence. Roman Catholic missionary work amongst the Maoris, whalers and French settlers began locally on the Banks Peninsula. The first Mass in Akaroa was celebrated in 1840, just two years after Bishop Pompallier had arrived in Hokianga.

Nearly 50 years passed before the diocese of Christchurch was formed in May 1887, as an area embracing Canterbury, Westland and the Chatham Islands. In 1888, when Bishop Grimes arrived from England to take control of his new diocese, the Catholic population of Canterbury was estimated at 20,000, or 14 per cent of the population.

A church at the corner of Shands Track and Boundary Road represented the earliest Catholic presence within the later Paparua County boundaries. This was built on land donated by Patrick

Henley, an Irishman who had arrived in Canterbury in 1860. He called his 22 acre Broadfield farm New Headford, in memory of his County Galway origins.

A French priest, Fr. Chervier, often visited the Henleys on their farm and by the late 1860s Shands Track was well-established as a nucleus for Catholics in the area.

Patrick Henley and Fr. Chervier were the driving forces behind the church which was built in 1871. Henley subsequently donated four more acres, and a school and presbytery were added. The location became known as the Catholic Mission at New Headford.

In 1871 the Christchurch parish was divided into two districts: one for the city and the other covering all the outlying districts of Canterbury.

Fr. Chervier assumed responsibility for the country districts, and basing himself at New Headford, he proceeded to build another six churches in Canterbury. Meanwhile the school at New Headford started to take boarders from as far afield as Waimate and Rangiora.

By 1880 the original little church had become inadequate. A new church, built alongside the old one, was dedicated in September 1880 by Bishop Patrick Moran of Dunedin as the Church of the Reparation. The parishioners inevitably chose a shorter name, christening it 'St Paddy's' in honour of the saint whose statue stood inside the church. The parish now stretched from Kaituna and Motukarara on one side to West Melton and Burnham on the other.

This church served a wide area for many years until tension between two halves of the congregation proved its undoing. The 'Plains' group, comprising West Melton, Templeton, Rolleston and Springston, supported the benefactor, Patrick Henley, and were happy with the church's location. The 'Swamps' group, however, comprising Lincoln, Greenpark, Tai Tapu and Motukarara, wanted the church moved to a more convenient site in Lincoln where there was a rail service.

The first battle was won by the 'Swamps' group, which in 1908 succeeded in having a new presbytery built in Lincoln to replace the deteriorating building at New Headford, even though this meant that the resident priest was now two miles away from his church.

In 1922 a new church, St. Brendan's, was built in Templeton and this soon attracted a congregation from as far as Weedons. The effect was to dilute the influence of the 'Plains' group at Shands Track. A small oratory was also set up in the Lincoln presbytery and this became a frequent setting for weekday masses. It was increasingly clear that Lincoln offered the better site.

An amusing interlude occurred in 1943 when Fr. Seward and his parish committee decided that the Shands Track church needed a new organ. Fr Madden, a North Canterbury priest, reported that he had located one in the district, but that, as it was doing service in an Anglican church, it might only manage Church of England hymns.

Despite this possible handicap the organ was purchased for the princely sum of £9 plus three shillings for transport. It served the parish well both at Shands Track and later in the Lincoln church.

By 1955 the Shands Track church was 75 years old and in poor condition. Pressure to renew or enlarge the building had steadily diminished after the death of Patrick Henley, the original benefactor. The new St. Patrick's church, incorporating the kauri floor and other features of the Shands Track church, was accordingly built in Lincoln and blessed by Bishop Edward Joyce on August 18, 1957. Since then it has continued to serve the parish well.

The Catholic church in Halswell was built not long after the one at Shands Track. A Wesleyan Methodist church had been built in the early 1860s on the corner of Dunbars and Halswell Roads, but had closed 10 years later. The unused church was purchased about 1878 by the Roman Catholic community and moved to the corner of Halswell Junction and Nicholl Roads, where it became the Church of St. Agnes and was much admired for its beautiful stained

glass windows.

When a new church was built in 1899 the original building became known as 'The Abbey' and was used by nuns who came out during the week from their Ferry Road convent to run the local school. In 1968 St Agnes became a parish, and Fr. Joe Kelly dedicated the church to St Peter and Paul, its present name.

The person responsible for establishing St Agnes's was Dean Lawrence Ginaty, an Irish priest born in Dublin in 1835. Dean Ginaty was also responsible for opening the Mount Magdala institution in July 1888. This was built on land off Nash Road provided by Eliza White of the A.J. White Furniture Company family.

Dean Ginaty arranged for the Order of the Good Shepherd nuns to take care of prostitutes and delinquent girls from the Christchurch area.

In 1968 the Good Shepherd sisters departed and the complex was taken over by the brothers of St John of God who ran it as a home for intellectually handicapped children until funding difficulties led to the government taking it over as Hogben School in January 1984.

The St John of God brothers converted the convent in the same complex of buildings to a hospital which they continue to run as a geriatric hospital with a special section for spinal injuries.

The adjoining chapel is particularly noted for its superb stained glass windows which were installed after the First World War. These windows had been ordered by the nuns from Austria prior to the war and apparently spent the war years safely buried somewhere in Germany.

The beginnings of the Hornby parish date back to the early 1900s when it was part of St. Mary's parish. St. Michael's church was built in Carmen Road but was later moved to a more central site in Tower Street.

The rapid housing development of the mid 1950s in Hei Hei led to the establishment in Manurere Street of a church hall that could serve as a Mass centre. In 1958 the Hornby parish under the patronage of St. Bernadette was established. Land purchased on Hei Hei Road in 1959 became the site of St. Bernadette's School in 1962 and the church hall from Manurere Street was shifted alongside to serve as St. Bernadette's church.

The poor state of the St. Michael's building forced its closure in 1983 and the Catholic community in the area for a time used the Methodist Church in Springs Road until a new and larger St. Bernadette's had been completed in 1985.

In the urban areas of the Christchurch diocese prior to the 1940s parishes were few and far between. When Bishop Lyons became the third bishop of the diocese in 1945 he showed considerable foresight by procuring blocks of land in various suburbs in readiness for new, post-war parishes. One of the priests commissioned to seek out land was Father Eddie Joyce who had served as an army chaplain during the Second World War and who was afterwards made assistant priest at St. Teresa's in Riccarton.

In December, 1945 he purchased just over six acres in Sockburn on the Main South Road. A parish was designated at Sockburn in May, 1946 and Father Joyce was appointed to both this and the Hornby parish. In 1947 a presbytery was built for £2703, and, in the following year, a building in Peer Street dating back to 1917 was moved to the Sockburn site. This building had served as both church and schoolroom for the western suburbs before St Teresa's had been built.

Our Lady of Victories church and the presbytery were blessed by Bishop Lyons in November 1949 and both continued to serve the parish well for the next 16 years.

Growth in the western suburbs eventually forced the parish to think about a bigger building. Plans were finalised in 1965 and the wooden church was once more moved, this time behind the presbytery to make way for the new church which was opened and blessed by Bishop Ashby

in March 1968. The congregation continued to thrive and, by the end of 1989, the attendance at the four Sunday masses was about 1,100 people.

Wesley's Legacy: The Methodist Church

The Methodists were the result of an 18th century evangelical movement in England originated by an Anglican priest, John Wesley. The ordered life of his brother Charles, also an Anglican minister, and his circle of friends gave rise to the label Methodists. Methodism flourished during the Industrial Revolution when the traditional social order in England came under severe strain. The church found its main support amongst the new industrial class which the Established Church - essentially representing the old order - had little to offer.

Methodist missionaries had been active amongst the Maoris in New Zealand since as early as 1822. After some hard initial struggles, various missionaries scored some notable successes and conversions amongst the Maoris. Several Maori Methodist ministers did much to spread Christianity amongst the various tribes throughout New Zealand.

South Island work commenced at Waikouaiti in 1840 when the Rev James Watkin set about counteracting the evil influences of resident whalers. But by 1850 Methodist mission work in Canterbury amongst the Maoris was waning and it became clear that the the church's future lay with the new settlers.

The first Methodist church in Paparua County was, like its Anglican counterpart, established at Upper Riccarton. Methodists in this area began seeking land for a church after an eloquent preacher, Charles Garland, had successfully attracted reasonable numbers to a series of meetings in 1885.

Weekly services at Riccarton school had started three months previously. A site for a church was subsequently secured at the corner of Church Street and what was then known as the West Coast Road.

The stone-laying ceremony took place on Queen Victoria's birthday in May 1886. Aware of St. Peter's across the street, Joseph Berry, the superintendent minister of the circuit, spoke about the reluctance of the Methodists to stir up denominational feelings in the area. However, he claimed a right of occupation in the area since the first Methodist meeting in 1855 had preceded any Anglican activity in Riccarton.

Since denominational competition was rare in New Zealand settler society, Berry indicated that the Methodists would have taken a different site if one had been available. The Methodists' concern for inter-church goodwill was also demonstrated by the presence on the platform of a Presbyterian minister, Robert Erwin, as Berry made these remarks. Presbyterians and Methodists sometimes shared their churches during the early days of establishment and were destined to return to this co-operation in later years.

The usual pattern of development was for a denomination to set itself up in a district that was not 'serviced' by another church. In 1903, for example, the Methodists abandoned the idea of starting at Hornby because the Presbyterians were already established there.

Riccarton was an unusual case because it was on the edge of an area where Methodism was particularly strong. This strength no doubt heightened Anglican anxiety about the interloper particularly because St. Peter's at the time had a large debt and a small congregation. Records show that St. Peter's managed to attract an average of only about 20 communicants during the period 1880-5.

Methodists were the most successful church-building denomination in early settler society. Between 1880 and 1910 they had over 20 per cent of the churches although their numbers never

exceeded 10 per cent of the population. Their target was said to have been a church every five miles.

But the very year that the Methodists built their Riccarton church also marked the high point of churchgoing in New Zealand. Nearly half (48 per cent) of adults attended churches in 1886; by 1906 this figure had dropped to 36 per cent and had shrunk further to 27 per cent in 1926. This decline is echoed by the fortunes of Wesley's movement in the Paparua County.

The history of Methodism in the area is also complicated by schisms in the movement that resulted in four distinct branches, three of which had strong followings in Canterbury. The Methodists were split into Wesleyan Methodism (the largest faction), the United Free Methodists, the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christian Church.

Most of the different Methodist churches in Paparua County were established between 1860 and 1890. One of the earliest was at Prebbleton, where a Wesleyan preaching place was established in 1862 by a minister named T.G. Chapman. A Bible Christian church was then opened in March 1889 and this lasted until 1947 when the church was finally sold. The building still stands on the corner of Kirk Road and Riwai Street.

Lincoln Road gained its first Methodist church in the early 1860s, but this closed around 1877. It was replaced by a Free Methodist church removed from Spreydon in 1886. This in turn was replaced by a brick church in 1920, with a parsonage added in 1964. At Tai Tapu the first Methodist church was constructed in 1866 and enlarged in 1874. A new church was built in 1882 and a larger Sunday School was required by 1881.

Services commenced at Weedons in 1866 and a church was opened in 1872 with an enlarged church completed by October 1890. This building was finally demolished in 1986. At Broadfield, a Methodist church was opened in 1865 and enlarged in 1881. Services were finally discontinued in December 1962 and the church sold in 1968.

Wesleyan services started in Templeton in 1866 but were later discontinued. Bible Christian services commenced in 1877, a church was completed by 1881 and a parsonage was added in 1893. The Templeton church was enlarged in 1917 but Methodist worship in the area ceased when the church was sold in 1988, two years after the centennial celebrations. A Wesleyan chapel was opened on the Bealey Track at West Melton in 1868, but the church was later sold to the Presbyterians in 1916.

Methodism entered a period of union from 1896 to 1913 after the need to unite the four branches had become clear. Falling attendance, duplication of staff and effort, and debilitating local rivalries had all weakened the movement. Three of the four branches accordingly united as the Wesleyan Union in 1896, but the Primitive Methodists held out at this stage. Final union with them was only achieved in January 1913 after both sides had severed their overseas connections.

The church at Halswell serves as an example of this union. A Bible Christian church was opened in September 1887 to replace a earlier Wesleyan church which had closed in the 1870s. Union in 1896 allowed the Wesleyans once more to share a presence in the area, and this arrangement lasted until the church closed in 1921.

Under the union, the Don McKenzie Memorial Hall was opened in O'Briens Road, Sockburn in 1943. The Hall was enlarged and moved to Springs Road in November, 1959. The minister at this church for a period in the late 1950s was Dr. Phyllis Guthardt (later minister at Church Corner), who had the distinction of being one of the first ordained woman ministers in New Zealand. The Don McKenzie Hall was finally sold in September 1986.

The Hornby Methodist parish came into being after a church had been built at Islington in 1956. This was successful enough for a Sunday School to be purchased in 1960 and a parsonage to be acquired in 1964. In charge is the Rev. Lois Clarke who was the only female minister in

the Paparua County at the time of its dissolution. The parish now serves adjoining country areas that have lost their own churches.

More widespread reforms came about after the Second World War. The Pentecostal and Charismatic movements of the 1960s, as exemplified by such groups as the Assemblies of God and the New Life Centre made inroads into all the major churches. Faced with financial and staff constraints as a result of declining attendance, the older established churches saw the advantages of further union on a broader scale.

In 1967 the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches entered into a covenant to find a way to unite. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches had co-operated for some time in recognising each other's 'spheres of influence' and it was therefore no surprise that as early as 1951 they were the first to adopt the principle of reciprocal membership. Anglican co-operation came later.

The most striking instance of the inter-denominational agreement in a church serving the Paparua County has probably been in Rolleston, where in 1970 the Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican churches entered into a joint use agreement for a church on Methodist land.

By 1973 the agreement was extended to include the Roman Catholics: all four of the main denominations now used the Rolleston Church of the Resurrection.

The way for this momentous change had been eased by the Vatican Council's 1964 Decree on Ecumenism which stated that after four centuries Catholics could no longer "charge with the sin of separation those who are at present born into non-Catholic communities and in them are brought up in the faith of Christ; the Catholic Church accepts them with respect and affection as brothers and sisters".

In this statement the largest Christian church finally came to terms both with history and reality and the key to the future became clear: churches would survive the modern erosion of faith by co-operation rather than by competition or conflict.

The growth towards union parishes and co-operative church ventures of one kind or another has largely taken place in the rural areas and there are a number of current examples of joint Methodist and Presbyterian churches within the county boundaries.

These include churches at Halswell, Lincoln and Prebbleton. The Methodist community in Halswell had recommenced services in 1954, firstly in a private home, and then in Halswell Hall. In 1962 St Lukes' church hall was opened and by 1974 this had become the Halswell Union Parish. The Union church at Tai Tapu, though, suffered a less happy fate when it closed in May 1989.

Scotland Abroad: The Presbyterians

The South Island centre of the Presbyterian church has always been Dunedin which was the site chosen for the original Scottish settlement. Although the Presbyterian church commands a larger support in New Zealand than the Methodists, it has probably never had as strong a presence in the Paparua County.

Presbyterian services in the Prebbleton and Lincoln districts can be traced back to the early 1860s. Services in Lincoln were originally held in the home of Mr. W. Tod before a Sunday School that doubled as a church was built in 1862. A second church was completed by 1882 and this survives substantially unaltered. The Lincoln church became a Union Parish in 1972.

Presbyterians in the Prebbleton area used the Lincoln church until they were able to build their own in 1866. A manse was added in 1868 and the Rev. John Campbell is recorded as being the first minister. He also served at Lincoln and later moved there, probably in response to the

larger population.

The Prebbleton church was added to in 1873 and then renovated in 1895. The renovations lasted until 1941 when a new church was built at the corner of Birches and Springs Roads. As in the case of Lincoln, this church is now shared with local Methodists as part of a Union Parish.

The earliest Presbyterian church on the Canterbury Plains west of Christchurch was built for £150 at Halkett in October 1873 on a site donated by Sandy Keir. The centennial service was held in 1973.

In West Melton, the first Presbyterian service was conducted by the Rev. R. Ewan at the school in May 1872, thus beating, by a few months, the first Anglican service held at the same venue. A wooden church was completed by 1883, but was sometime later removed by the Manion family to their Weedons farm, where it ended its days as a storage shed.

In 1917 services commenced again in West Melton after the Presbyterian community took over the Methodist church building. In the early 1920s the church became part of the Halkett Presbyterian Charge. A new church was built at West Melton in the mid-1950s.

In Hornby services started in 1908 at the Primary School. A church, originally called St. David's, was built in 1921. This was shifted in 1968 from the Main South Road to Amyes Road and renamed the Hornby Presbyterian Church.

An outpost of the Hornby church was established in 1961 on Gilberthorpes Road in Hei Hei.

The need for a Presbyterian church in the Upper Riccarton area had become apparent by 1954 after Sunday School classes for children living in the area had started at Riccarton Primary School. St. Mark's was built in 1957 and was first located in Upper Riccarton as an offshoot of St. Ninian's in Puriri Street, Riccarton.

Continued growth in the area made it necessary to enlarge the church in 1959. Most of the new Presbyterians, however, were settling in the Avonhead area, and this was to influence the ultimate location of the church. A Sunday School was started in the Avonhead school in 1959.

In June 1963 the congregation decided to go ahead with a church on a section purchased in Withells Road, off Yaldhurst Road. The original St. Mark's building on Main South Road next to Riccarton High School was eventually sold in early 1988.

The Baptist Community

The smallest denomination in Paparua County was the Baptist Church. Its presence in the county has been comparatively limited.

One of the earliest examples of Baptist worship in the county was at West Melton, where in January 1873 a church of eight persons was formed. Services were conducted by Pastor J. Sawle in the Wesleyan chapel. The church faded in the 1880s after key families had moved away.

A Baptist chapel was opened in Lincoln in 1876 and parts of the original building can be seen in the present Baptist Church in Gerald Street. The church had its genesis in a very active Sunday School that had operated in previous years. By 1873, 70 children were being instructed by 13 teachers.

The original chapel of 30 by 18 feet subsequently had to be doubled in size to accommodate the increased membership and Sunday School classes. In 1958 a Church Hall was added for youth activities and other church work.

Baptist Sunday School activities in Hei Hei started in the early 1950s underneath the water tower in Wycola Avenue. The success of the Sunday School led to the building of a church in about 1955 on land off Aurora Street donated by John Calder, a member of the Riccarton Baptist community. The church had an initial membership of approximately 27 with a Sunday

School roll of over 100 children.

After a period of growth, the church faded towards the end of the 1970s when people started moving out of the area. The manse was sold and the church was at first leased and subsequently purchased by one of the new Pentecostal movements. Baptists living in the area now worship at the Riccarton Baptist church.

An attempt was made to establish a Baptist presence in the Halswell area in 1962. There was sufficient interest for a Sunday School to start but activity petered out after a few years.

A second attempt in 1980 has proved more durable when approximately 10 to 12 families started meeting first in the Oaklands School building and then in the Calvary Chapel at the St. John of God hospital off Nash Road. The community felt confident enough to erect a church in Balcairn Road and this was completed in 1984.

2. Schools and Education

Education in the Paparua County has an interesting and substantial history. Each of the 23 schools in the county has its own detailed story. This is particularly true of the 12 schools that were established before the turn of the century. Half of these again have celebrated, or are very close to celebrating, their 125th anniversaries.

The scope of this history unfortunately permits no more than a brief account of each school, but a chronological approach does help to clarify the pattern of development within the county.

Since Canterbury was originally intended as a Church of England settlement, education was initially conceived as largely the responsibility of the church. During this initial period which lasted until 1874, the Provincial Government therefore encouraged churches to open schools. All the recognised denominations received grants from the government for this purpose.

Education in the new settlement seems to have suffered at first from the prevailing English attitude that the working classes did not really need a great deal of learning. Education was also widely regarded as unnecessary for girls. Only daughters of wealthy families might be lucky enough to have a governess.

The evidence of neglect was certainly great. Three quarters of the immigrants were uneducated. In 1863 the Tancred Commission established by the Canterbury Provincial Government showed that in some districts up to a third of the population were illiterate. In the following year it was estimated that there were 1,600 children of school age who did not attend, either because they were too poor or because their parents were indifferent towards schooling.

Since parents paid teachers' salaries, poverty in some rural areas meant that teachers on meagre salaries had to struggle with large classes and inadequate equipment. The school building sometimes had to serve as class room, preaching place, Sunday School and teacher's lodgings.

Matters were also not helped by parents who needed their children at harvest times or by the denominational rivalry in certain localities. Despite these handicaps it is surprising how high the general teaching standard seems to have been.

In response to the Tancred Commission's findings, the government adopted a new policy in 1867 of establishing District Schools in country areas. This policy was also a reaction to the abuses and the general expense of the grant system as well as the inability of the denominational schools to cope with rapidly increasing numbers of children.

District Schools gradually replaced church schools, first in the country and finally in the urban areas. In 1863, for example, there were 28 denominational and special grant schools out of a total of 32 in Canterbury. Ten years later in 1873 there were only eight church schools left

out of a total of 79. After all the grants were withdrawn the collapse of the weaker schools was rapid.

The Education Act of 1877 passed in Wellington after the end of the Provincial Government drew a particularly heated response from the Catholic Church. For 14 years after the passing of the Act, every editorial in the *Catholic Tablet* commenced with a standard fulmination:

PROGRESS AND JUSTICE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

> The Catholics of New Zealand provide at their own expense, an excellent education for their own children. Yet such is the sense of justice and policy in the New Zealand Legislature that it compels these Catholics, after having manfully provided for their own children, to contribute largely towards the free and godless education of other people's children!!! This is tyranny, oppression, and plunder.

The Act was nevertheless an important advance because it established free, secular and compulsory primary education in New Zealand. The Education Board now paid all the costs of building new schools whereas previously each district had been forced to provide a substantial proportion.

Honour for the first school within the later Paparua County boundaries seems to go to Prebbleton where the primary school held its 125th Anniversary celebrations in 1982. William Slater started the first school in his home in 1857. This was succeeded by an Anglican chapel-school, built in about 1859 and opened by Bishop Harper in 1862. This church school lasted until the state school system reached Prebbleton in 1870.

The early absenteeism that has been commented upon is exemplified by the 1863 figures: there were actually 44 names on the school roll, but the average attendance was only 25.

The new school built by the Education Board was soon outgrown, and the school expanded in 1876 into what is now known as the Anglican Parish Hall in William Street. A public library adjoining the school was added at the same time.

In about 1923 the school was rebuilt on Blakes Road, and this building with its high rafted ceiling lasted until it was condemned after a fire in 1975. It was replaced by the present neat concourse of light, modern classrooms. The school maintains its link with the past by sharing a well-equipped library with the Prebbleton community.

The school has produced two distinguished soldiers amongst its former pupils: Brigadier Jim Burrows and Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger.

Second place goes to Riccarton Primary School which was established in 1859 on the grounds of St. Peter's on Church Corner. In July, 1872 Riccarton was declared a School District and the Riccarton Public School was opened in October of 1873 with a roll of approximately 78 and Mr. W.H. Wilson as headmaster. On opening day the pupils marched from the Church School through the church grounds to the new school further down the Main South Road.

The new buildings were designed by the Rev. Croasdaile Bowen who became chairman of the first Riccarton Public School Committee. After a few years the school roll had increased to 100 and by the 1880s had reached 200. By 1946 the roll was 308, and this had increased to 432 in 1950.

The next few years saw a rapid intake that nearly doubled the roll to 804 in 1954. The introduction of Intermediate schools after this date, however, lowered the roll considerably, and, since 1960, Riccarton has conducted classes from Primers to Standard 4 only.

Various additions and rebuilding programmes over the years have gradually replaced the original building. The last portion of Croasdaile Bowen's design disappeared in 1959. It is

not widely known that both Fendalton and Sockburn schools started off as side schools of Riccarton.

Third in the Paparua County, Templeton Primary School, celebrated its 125th Jubilee in 1987. In 1862 the school was sited behind Mr. George Kissell's store. In the early days small communities like Templeton could often not afford to hire properly trained teachers and, as a result, various misfits or poorly trained teachers were inflicted upon pupils with predictably disastrous consequences.

At the end of 1866, for example, the school inspector reported that only five pupils out of Templeton's roll of 25 were actually present. He commented that the school was in a very disorganised state, both school and children suffering from protracted neglect. He therefore recommended the speedy dismissal of the teacher. A replacement was engaged and reports for 1867 were more satisfactory, with the school being favourably compared to Prebbleton School.

A new school was built at Templeton in 1874 on property owned by Samuel Bailey in Kirk Road. The school was originally a two-roomed wooden building which was added to and remodelled over the years until it was finally demolished in 1961. The third and present school was erected on the same site in 1961 and officially opened in the following centennial year.

Templeton School served a very wide area until other schools in neighbouring areas opened. The long distances that pupils had to travel no doubt accounted in part for the poor attendances. In the early years stable accommodation had to be provided for the pupils' horses; a somewhat simpler arrangement now caters for their bicycles.

Halswell School's Jubilee took place in 1989. Education commenced in 1864 with an initial roll of 19 pupils. The local School Committee were fortunate in their choice of first headmaster. John Steane, a young schoolmaster from Middlesex, stayed only a few years but gave the school a good start by gaining favourable reports from the inspector. By 1865 the roll had risen to 24 although the average attendance was only 18.

Average attendances were typically lower than the nominal roll because schooling in the early years was neither free nor compulsory. if a child lost a day or two through illness, parents saw little point in wasting the week's fee of a shilling on the remaining few days. It made more sense to keep the child at home until the next week.

Conditions at the school, like many others in Canterbury, were at first fairly spartan. The children had to put up with cold, draughty rooms and ceilings so lofty that many remembered having to stand on a chair to see out of the window. It was not until 1931 that first modern classroom was built.

One pupil in the 1860s who would gain national fame was Harry Ell, who is perhaps best remembered now for his singleminded dedication to the development of the Summit Road.

In common with many other country schools, the Halswell school's facilities were also used over the years for a variety of purposes such as meetings, concerts, church groups and temperance societies. It is again typical that the Halswell Library began in 1897 in a large school cupboard, a venue that apparently proved satisfactory for another 50 years.

By 1952 most of the school buildings were in a very poor state and parents were threatening to send their children elsewhere or simply keep them at home. Building of the new school started in 1953 after the plight of the school had received national press coverage and some hot skirmishes had taken place between the School Committee and the Education Board.

The school roll continued to grow and by 1964 there were up to nine prefab buildings on the school grounds. Even after this date, when the new Oaklands School cut Halswell's roll in half, the intake kept growing.

By 1968 the first new permanent block, containing the library and three classrooms, had been added. In 1984 the school had gained a fine new School Hall, built at a cost of $53,073, much

of which was raised in the Halswell community.

Schooling at Tai Tapu commenced in 1867, just three years after Halswell, in the Wesleyan Chapel-school. There is, though, a vague record of a Mr. R. Lopdell conducting a denominational school in a sod hut 10 years earlier in 1857.

The first School Committee were so short of funds that they had to borrow £23 from the Schoolmaster, Mr. Latham, in order to complete a residence for him. There must have been considerable embarrassment when the committee had to dismiss him in 1870 for 'intemperate habits'. It is recorded that he at least got his money back.

The improvised chapel schoolroom was soon inadequate and a second school was opened in 1874 on a site purchased for £6 from Edmund Shakespeare. Despite his illustrious name, Shakespeare was illiterate and had to mark the deeds of conveyance with an X.

This school lasted until 1931, when the new school property in its present position was acquired from Sir Heaton Rhodes, squire of Otahuna and village benefactor. The facilities have been steadily developed over the years by successive school committees.

At Broadfield a school seems to have functioned for some time before the actual school building was erected. It seems likely that the neighbouring Methodist Church served as this first schoolroom. The first recorded schoolmaster was Mr. Cotton, who was engaged in October 1871.

The present school ground of about three acres was purchased form Samuel Early for £30 and the first schoolroom was built here and occupied by 1870. The master's house was in existence by 1872; it seems to have been built at the same time as the school.

Thanks to the enthusiasm of R.H. Ferguson, the schoolmaster appointed in 1896, Broadfield School must have been one of the earliest to possess a swimming bath: this was completed in 1897. It is not surprising that Broadfield has since been noted for producing excellent swimmers.

Amongst the many notable past pupils several have a connection with the Paparua County Council, including George Maginness, Paparua's first County Clerk and two County Chairmen: Arnold Campion and Douglas Warren.

In 1955 a prefab building was added to the school and by 1956 the school had purchased an additional four acres of land from Mr. D. Butcher for £400. A new school was opened on this site across the road from the previous school in July, 1964.

Halkett School opened in May, 1870 with 20 pupils and Mr. James Leete as teacher. It was built on an acre of land donated by Captain Halkett, after whom the district is named.

The first school house was on the east side of the school. The Post Office was later located at the school house and was run by the teachers.

In 1963 the school became one of a group of model schools, responsible for giving country school experience to Teachers' College students. The old school was pulled down in 1964 and the present concrete block structure was built.

Like several other rural schools in the Paparua County, Halkett is noted for the loyalty of local families towards the school. Fourth generation descendants of the McKay, Watson, Turner and Oakley families have attended the school. Five generations of Calders, relating back to a first-day pupil, Adam Whyte, have attended the school over the past 120 years.

The school at Weedons opened a year after Halkett's in 1871. The first school building was well-designed but poorly constructed. Within a month the doors and flooring had shrunk, making the classroom draughty. A leaking roof added to the children's misery in winter.

A second wooden school was built on the present site and this lasted until 1951 when two classroooms and a staffroom were built in permanent materials. A sick bay and a library were added later.

West Melton School also opened in 1871 with J. Murray as headmaster and 41 pupils on the roll. It is possible that a school had been operating in West Melton prior to 1871, probably in the Wesleyan Chapel.

Over the years the school roll has fluctuated considerably, from 60 in the 1890s down to under 20 in the 1940s and rising to 100 in 1972. This increase in more recent years reflects local subdivision of farms and closer settlement.

One notable past pupil was Harry Holland, MP, Mayor of Christchurch and father of Sir Sidney Holland.

A public library at the north end of the original school building served the district well for many years.

William Rolleston, Superintendent of Canterbury, officially opened Yaldhurst School in January 1876. Two acres of land had been purchased by the Provincial Government the year before from Alexander Johnston, 'blacksmith of Christchurch'.

Soundly constructed original buildings served the needs of the district well until the school was replaced in 1968 by a new two-classroom block. An increase in the roll required a third classroom in 1971 and a fourth in 1974. The roll peaked in this year at 100 children.

The swimming bath at Yaldhurst was built in 1896 and must therefore rank with Broadfield's as one of the earliest school swimming baths in New Zealand. Several swimming clubs have operated at different times.

The school is also noteworthy in the South Island for having the first School Committee composed entirely of ladies. This committee was elected in 1904 and male readers will no doubt be piqued to learn that it functioned with exemplary efficiency and success.

A period of 13 years passed before the next school in the county opened. This gap was due in part to an economic slump in New Zealand, the so-called 'Long Depression' between 1879 and 1896.

Ladbrooks School commenced during this depression in April 1889, and therefore just managed to celebrate its centenary seven months before the Paparua County went out of existence.

The first teacher was Mrs Christina Prebble and for the first year the school was known as the Prebbleton Side School. The initial roll of 18 pupils increased to nearly 50 by the end of the year as parents gained confidence in the school and its teacher. In the following year the school became known simply as Ladbrooks School.

The first single-roomed wooden building was sited to the northwest of the existing swimming pool. In the early days children were sent home when parents needed their labour on the farms. Weather conditions dictated both the timing and length of the 'Harvest Holidays' and the 'Potato Holidays'.

Parents were at least relieved of one financial burden: teachers were by now paid by the Board of Education and not by school committees.

Standards were strict: after 10 hours at school male teachers were expected to spend their evenings reading the Bible or some improving work. They were allowed one night a week off for courting purposes, or two nights if they were regular church-goers!

Teachers who smoked, used any form of liquor, frequented public halls, pool parlours or got shaved in a barber shop could be called upon to account for their behaviour. Women teachers were dismissed if they got married or "engaged in unseemly behaviour", a definition that no doubt covered a multitude of sins.

Improvements at Ladbrooks include a swimming pool in 1954, a new, two-classroom school completed in 1966 and a new school house built by 1975. The present roll is 34 children.

In the urban areas of the future Paparua County, the first school built since Riccarton Primary

School in 1859 was sited in Hornby. Nellie Newton, Lily Brown and Elizabeth Duncan were the first three pupils enrolled at Horny Primary School on March 27, 1895.

Hornby continued to be the only school in the district until Gilberthorpe and Sockburn Schools opened in 1957. By then Hornby School had 23 classrooms and a roll that had swollen to more than 800.

The opening of Branston Intermediate in 1971 also helped to relieve this pressure of numbers. The present school has six classrooms and a roll of 139.

Over the years Hornby School has changed dramatically in appearance. One original part of the old school, the 'Milk Room' was demolished only five years ago. The classroom block built in 1940 was used as the Infant Block until 1989. The Old School Hall and adjoining classrooms were demolished and replaced in 1972. The new Cooper Hall was built in the late 1970s.

The school now has spacious grounds as a result of the reduced roll and the removal of buildings. This has allowed room for some attractive landscaping and a large adventure playground.

Hornby is particularly noted for the lengthy service of the staff. Only 12 school principals in 95 years of existence suggests loyalty and dedication to the community. Teachers from the late '50s and early '80s were also particularly noted for having taught several generations of the same family.

More than 60 years passed between Hornby's opening in 1895 and the next schools built in the mid-1950s. These comparatively modern schools were mostly built in response to the rapid growth that occurred in the urban areas of the Paparua County.

Our Lady of Victories School in Sockburn was conceived as part of the Catholic parish church of the same name erected in the mid-1950s on the Main South Road. Two classrooms were ready at the beginning of 1956 and two Sisters of Mercy commenced teaching 79 pupils.

A seven-classroom building was completed in that same year and by 1961 the roll had risen to 200. Boys remained at the school to Form 1 levels when they transferred to the nearby St Thomas of Canterbury College.

In September 1982 the school was integrated with the state system. The current roll fluctuates between 200 and 240 pupils, taught by nine full-time staff with part-time help.

Gilberthorpe School opened in February 1957 in a four-classroom block with a roll of approximately 100 children. From the beginning parents and children worked hard to improve the school and its grounds. Locally raised funds provided a swimming pool and library and gardening efforts made the school environment one of the most attractive in the area.

Roll numbers before the opening of Branston Intermediate peaked at 350 in 1970. By the end of 1985 the school consisted of two classroom blocks with four rooms each. One of these rooms has been converted into a new library and the old library has become the music room. The school roll presently stands at about 230 with 11 full-time teachers, one part-time teacher and a non-teaching principal.

Like Gilberthorpe, Sockburn Primary School also opened in 1957 as part of a ring of schools built around Christchurch to cater for the post-war 'baby boom'. The original enrolment of about 400 in 10 permanent classrooms grew close to 600, requiring the addition of a further two permanent classrooms and three relocatable rooms.

Sockburn Primary also serves Branston Intermediate and this partly explains the decline in numbers to the present roll of 280. The school now has 14 staff and takes pupils up to Grade 4.

Riccarton High School opened in 1958 and provided a much needed facility for secondary education within the Paparua County. It is worth recalling that children of the early settlers were

unlikely to go much beyond a primary education unless they were of exceptional ability or their parents could afford the expense.

By as late as 1900 there were still only 25 secondary schools in the whole of New Zealand. Improvements came only gradually after the Secondary Schools Act of 1903 finally introduced a system of free places in public secondary schools for the brighter students.

Riccarton was built on just over 10 hectares of land between Curletts and Main South Roads. This property was the largest remaining part of the original Rural Section granted to John Jesse Bulkeley in 1850.

Between 1958 and 1990 more than 7,500 pupils have passed through the school and 400 teachers have served under the school's three principals: Alan Gainsford (1958-1967); Terry Hitchings (1968-1987) and Barry Maister (1987-).

The parents and local community have contributed greatly towards improving the school. Their desire to retain a community based school resulted in successful resistance to the government's efforts to turn Riccarton High into a giant with over 1,800 pupils. The opening of Hornby High School in 1975 effectively put paid to this scheme.

Riccarton High has since established itself as one of the leaders in educational development within New Zealand. Successful co-educational classes have been established since the early '70s and the present wide curriculum of the school is organised on a faculty basis.

During the episcopate of Bishop Lyons (1944-50) a Catholic high school for boys was planned to meet the projected growth in the western part of the city. The area now covered by Riccarton Mall was the site originally chosen, but the school was eventually built a few kilometres farther west off Middlepark Road.

St. Thomas of Canterbury College opened in February 1961 with three Christian Brothers staff and 106 pupils in Forms 1 to 3. Each year an additional class was added until by 1965 the school gained full secondary status.

The school was blessed from the start with adequate playing fields on both sides of Middlepark Road. These grounds were purchased by a most active Parents and Friends Association during the early development phase.

Various improvements over the years have included a science block in 1965 and a second storey for additional classrooms. Later came the library and art block and a hall which doubles as a gymnasium.

St. Thomas's was integrated into the state system in 1981. The school has a current roll of 360 pupils and is classed as a secondary school with an attached intermediate department.

South Hornby Primary School was built a year after St. Thomas's in 1962. The original designation as an intermediate school was changed in 1965 to primary.

This led to the some typically costly bureaucracy when the excess ground was sold off in 1967 despite the School Committee's protests. In 1972 the inevitable expansion forced the committee to request extra land for playing areas. This had to be purchased at a predictably higher price.

South Hornby started with 108 pupils and a total of eight classrooms. The school has expanded to its current roll of 230 students taught by 10 staff.

Conceived as an adjunct to the Catholic church in Hei Hei, St. Bernadette's was opened by Bishop Joyce in February, 1962. The school comprised four classrooms, a staffroom and other facilities and three sisters from the Loreto community commenced teaching 85 pupils from Primer 1 to Standard 2.

In the following years further classes were added until the school became a full co-educational primary. By 1966 the roll had risen to 149 pupils and has remained at about this level. In 1975 the school gained an additional classroom and a prefabricated building which

serves as a library.

Oaklands School celebrated its 25th Jubilee in 1989. Built to service the comparatively new Oaklands suburb of Halswell the school began in 1964 with a first-day roll of 230.

By 1974 the school was bursting at the seams with 24 classrooms, 31 staff and a roll approaching 800 pupils. The roll has subsequently stabilised at around 400.

The school suffered from boggy winter grounds for a number of years before field drains were laid. Oaklands has otherwise generally benefitted from its youth, boasting modern equipment and pleasantly landscaped grounds.

McKenzie Residential School was established in February 1971 for children with emotional and learning problems and draws its pupils from both the North and the South Islands.

The school occupies the former Roydon Lodge set in two hectares of woodlands off Yaldhurst Road. The property formed part of the late Sir John McKenzie's estate and was offered to the Education Department by the McKenzie Education Trust, founded in 1966 by Sir John's son, Sir Roy McKenzie. The Disturbed Children's Aid Movement also did much to arouse local and government interest in the project.

The school has a staff of 26 with boarding and teaching facilities to cater for up to 24 children. McKenzie has many links with the community and often has children participating in outside club and sporting activities.

McKenzie school is particularly noted for the success of its educational programmes. Research has shown that more than 80 per cent of pupils make the transition back into their homes, schools and communities without further assistance.

A similar school operates off Nash Road in the Halswell district. Hogben Primary School in the Halswell district was taken over by the government in 1984. This school was formerly known as Marylands Special School and was run by a Catholic order, the brothers of St. John of God who still run a hospital in the same grounds.

Boys with special learning needs (slow learners) come to Hogben from all over New Zealand.

Branston Intermediate School in Hornby was officially opened in May 1971 by the Minister of Education, the Hon. Brian Talboys.

Situated off Amyes Road on 3.4 hectares of land (extended to 4.2 hectares in 1975), the school consists of a hall and administration block together with a two-storeyed complex of 12 rooms including computer network and resource rooms. Thee are also five technicraft rooms, a music suite, library and dental clinic. A 25 metre swimming pool was added in 1976.

The school draws pupils from Gilberthorpe, Hornby, Sockburn and South Hornby schools after they have completed their Standard 4 year. The roll peaked at 535 pupils in 1983 and has since stabilised at around 310 taught by 18 full-time staff.

One interesting feature of the school is the assembly hall which successfully doubles as a community hall. This resulted from a decision by the Paparua County Council to avoid duplication of community facilities in the area. Contributions to the cost of the hall were made by the Hornby and Sockburn County Towns and the hall was administered by a joint committee.

Paparua County gained another much needed secondary school in 1975. Despite its name, Hornby High School is actually situated in Hei Hei at the corner of Carmen and Waterloo Roads and shares a fenced field stretching from Carmen to Hei Hei Road with Hornby Primary School.

Hornby High opened with a roll of 239 pupils. This number grew rapidly, peaking at 903 in 1987 and falling to 821 in 1988. The main contributing school has been Branston Intermediate. Hornby currently has a full-time staff of 47, with several part-time and itinerant staff in such subjects as music and Japanese.

Hornby High is a spacious school equipped with a diversity of modern teaching and learning

resources. Although very new, the school has already established an early reputation in music and sports especially. The school currently holds championship honours in volleyball and rugby league.

3. Recreation, Sport and Racing

There is the saying that 'whenever two or three Englishmen are gathered together they will form a cricket club'. Being predominantly of English stock, the pioneers made sure that their lives were not all hard grind. The playing fields, clubs and sporting associations so prevalent in England were soon established in the new colony.

The range and diversity of the pioneers' recreational entertainment is illustrated by the example of Templeton. The upper classes started the Christchurch Hunt Club which was in existence by 1875. A photograph dated 1895 shows the club hounds kennelled at the residence of the Master of Hounds in Trents Road.

Templeton also boasted a racecourse at the corner of Dawsons and Jones Roads which was developed during the early 1880s by the Canterbury Plumpton Ground Company. Plumpton Park had all the amenities of a racecourse, including a grandstand and a public bar, and grounds that were attractively gardened.

Both galloping and trotting took place at the park, but the most popular activity was greyhound racing.

Classic races such as the Canterbury Derby and the Oaks attracted such interest that contemporary newspapers devoted several columns to each event. The pedigrees of the winning dogs were given for as far back as four generations and the winning dog would have as many as 30 ancestors listed.

The first horse race was held in March 1884 and the Handicap Time trot of 30 sovereigns was won by Formosa from Gentle Annie. Kathleen, the horse that came third, showed a remarkable resemblance in build and style to a grey named Peggy which had won the Dunedin Trot two years before.

This was confirmed when one gentleman ran his fingers through her sweaty coat, getting them covered with a dark brown substance. A newspaper account concludes: "It was not long before she was removed and could not be found afterwards". Hard times and an oversupply of racecourses led to the track's closure in the early 1890s.

Templeton Domain was established in 1878 on two large reserves totalling 228 acres. Situated in a dried-up river bed, the domain resisted the best efforts of the controlling board to convert it into a recreational area. Several hundred ornamental trees were planted, but failed to survive the arid conditions.

The domain was really too far from populated areas to attract any great public interest. The one reserve of 122 acres was finally leased for grazing until the Templeton Country Club managed to establish a golf course on it by 1932. In later years the Christchurch Speedway Association, the Canterbury Car Club and the New Zealand Whippet Racing Club took over the other 106 acre reserve.

In response to the demand for a more accessible recreational area, six acres in the township were purchased in March, 1902 for £210 of which the residents contributed £85. By comparison, Hornby acquired five acres in March 1908 at a cost of £300, with residents contributing £147, and in May of the same year, Yaldhurst established a five acre domain for £175, residents contributing £25.

These domains, in common with others in the Paparua county were used for rugby, cricket

and hockey and all the other recreational activities beloved by New Zealanders. Members of the various domain boards over the years characteristically performed a great deal of unsung labour.

The longevity of service on some boards is quite startling and certainly testifies to the dedication of many serving members. Records show that periods of 20, 30 and even 40 years service on a board were not uncommon.

This dedication meant that the boards were often capable of achieving striking results as in the case of Templeton, where very unpromising ground was transformed into attractive parks.

Much of the sport played in the early days was informally organised and if necessary played in rough paddocks with fairly basic equipment. Like many other facets of life, sport has become more varied, organised and sophisticated over the years as regards training, equipment and standards of playing surfaces.

The Paparua County Council recognised this reality in 1977 by appointing Peter Walls, a physical education teacher from Riccarton High School, as Community Recreation Adviser. His work involved co-ordinating all the many sports activities within the county, informing the various clubs about government sports funding schemes and helping new clubs submit plans for council funding.

His appointment also enabled the council to plan a more effective range of activities during school holidays. The council's aims were to provide for the family as a whole rather than just the individual and to ensure that all facilities were fully utilised.

In 1987 the Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport was created and this gave an added impetus and direction to this programme. Direct grants, subsidies and loan schemes from the Hillary Commission assisted all local bodies towards improving sports facilities.

At the time of its dissolution in 1989 the county boasted a large variety of private and public sporting venues and facilities. Notable council owned facilities included Denton Park with its international standard cycling track and grandstand seating for about 1200 people to watch other sports such as rugby.

Warren Park near the Wigram airfield covered some 15 hectares and its 11 playing fields and changing room complex provided first-class facilities for many sporting codes. The Kennedys Bush walkway on the Port Hills offered most attractive vistas over the plains for picnickers or trampers.

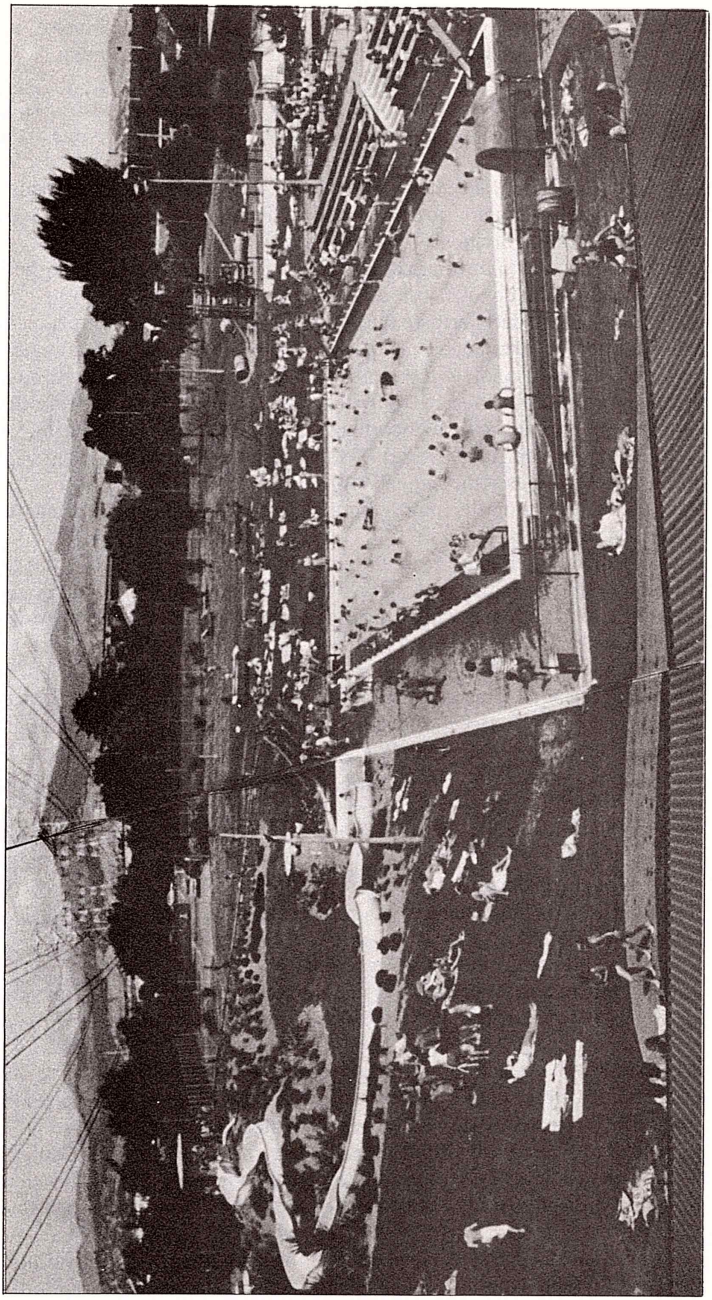
Numerous other parks and domains throughout the county served sporting and recreational needs. Some of these had been established for many years, whilst others were the product of the council's 10 percent levy on subdivided land. The council's 1989 Community Recreation Guide listed an extensive variety of sports clubs, recreation and community organisations making use of these amenities.

Ratepayers were also served by swimming pools at Templeton, Halswell and Sockburn, the latter two being heated. Halswell pool exists as a tribute to the energy and enthusiasm of Miss Nan Corne, a former Halswell schoolteacher. Concerned that the children in the Halswell and Oaklands area should learn to swim properly, Nan Corne for several years organised a weekly bus trip to Sockburn.

It was mainly though her efforts and the assistance of County Area Engineer at the time, Mr Terry Lucas, that the Halswell pool was finally completed in 1971.

The first pool at Sockburn was built in 1965 in an old quarry close to the county offices. The present pool is the product of a redevelopment scheme in 1985 following land subsidence problems.

Largely by using its own internal resources the Paparua County Council was able, for a fraction of the cost of Waimairi's Jellie Park, to build an attractive recreational complex that



Swimming Pool and Waterslide at the Sockburn Park Recreation Centre.

includes a 33 metre heated main pool, a diving pool, toddler's pool and 55 metre waterslide. Other facilities include outdoor barbecue facilities, squash courts, spa pools, a sauna and exercise rooms.

By far the most important venue in the county not owned by the council is Riccarton Racecourse, which was the first racing venue built in Canterbury and remains one of the leading racecourses in New Zealand.

Closeness to both Riccarton Racecourse and the later Addington Raceway made the rural parts of the county especially attractive to trainers and owners. Horse breeding and horse racing have therefore been important activities in the Paparua County from its earliest days.

Anyone travelling along the Main South Road or the road to Lincoln cannot help being struck by the number of smallholdings devoted to horse raising.

The 'sport of kings' got an early grip on the country. Back in 1846 a Scot named Alexander Majoribanks pilloried local enthusiasms in his *Travels in New Zealand,* commenting that "It is curious that the English cannot settle down quietly, even in a new country, without wasting their time and money on these most absurd of all absurdities - horse racing and public dinners".

The first horses in New Zealand were imported by the Rev. Samuel Marsden in 1814. Once they had conquered their fear and astonishment, Maoris in the Bay of Islands were soon as keen on these wondrous new creatures as the English settlers.

The settlers wasted little time in improving and augmenting their breeding stock with imports from England and Australia.

Horse racing in Christchurch dates from the first anniversary of the landing in December 1851, when a meet was held in Hagley Park, then little more than an open, tussock covered field. For a purse totalling £15, four races were run along the western edge of the park on a course running from the Riccarton Hotel to the Fendalton bridge.

The day was a great success and the need for a more permanent arrangement was soon obvious. In November 1854, J. Cracroft Wilson chaired a meeting in the Golden Fleece Hotel (corner of Colombo and Armagh streets), at which it was decided to form the Canterbury Jockey Club. The meeting also forwarded a request to the Governor to set aside a reserve of about 300 acres for a racecourse. A suitable sized piece of land was located about six miles from Christchurch at Trig Pole No.2.

Less than six months later on March 6-7, 1855, the Canterbury Jockey Club organised the first races at this new Upper Riccarton venue. The stewards for the first meeting were J.T. Brown, W. Higgins, E.J. Wakefield, G. Devon and W.C. Fendall. The judge was C.C. Haslewood and the Clerk of the Course, who bore the appropriate name of Mr. Rule, duly appeared in the traditional pink jacket.

The first Canterbury Cup was run at this meeting and Mr. Lee's Tamerlane captured the £50 stake. The Ladies' Purse, a race for amateur riders, was won by Mr C. Turner's Cruiskeen. With prompt gallantry the owner presented the £40 purse as a contribution to the cost of erecting a stand.

Five years later in 1860 the Canterbury Derby was inaugurated on the initiative of Mr. J.W. Mallock, who offered £50 if the club would match this sum for a race over one and a half miles at Derby weights. Mr. W. Harris's Ada was the winner of the first Derby.

Conditions at the track were fairly primitive in the early years. In 1865 the Canterbury Cup was won by Shillelagh in a field of eight. It is recorded that the race was run "in a fearful norwester, the clouds of dust preventing the colours of the horses being seen right through the race".

The following year saw the first steeplechase meeting at the course, but it was not until the next decade that the Grand National Steeplechase, staged earlier in various districts in

Canterbury, found a permanent home at Riccarton in 1875.

Early milestones include the completion in 1864 of a 400 seat stand and a railway extension line from Sockburn built in 1877 that served racegoers until it was closed in the mid-1950s. By the turn of the century the club boasted four stands and was well-established.

Two dominant figures in the history of local racing deserve brief mention. Henry Redwood, often described as the 'Father of the New Zealand Turf', made an early impression at Riccarton.

Redwood was a colourful character who bred excellent horses near Nelson and Blenheim. Attracted by the stakes offered at Riccarton during the 1860s, Redwood brought his team down to Canterbury by the arduous overland route and proceeded to demolish the local opposition.

Redwood won so many races that he was soon looking for local quarters. He found a suitable property right opposite the racecourse for his stabling and training and this became 'Chokebore Lodge', named in tribute to the newly invented concept of a choke barrel which helped Redwood also to excel as a champion shot in both New Zealand and Australia.

By placing Chokebore Lodge in the care of his trainer, Edward Cutts, Henry Redwood was able to continue his success in the local races whilst also pursuing his other interests. One of these was to take New Zealand bred horses across the Tasman to Australia where he pioneered the popular Kiwi tradition of relieving the locals of large racing purses.

In 1875 George Gatensby Stead became an equal partner with Redwood in the Chokebore Lodge stables. Under the shrewd guidance of George Stead, the joint venture prospered even further and lasted until the 1890s when Stead bought the remainder of the stud. Henry Redwood eventually died in 1907 aged 85.

George Stead was the second outstanding figure on the local racing scene. Stead had arrived in New Zealand in 1866 at the age of 25. In 1873 the Canterbury Jockey Club recognised his abilities by appointing him honorary treasurer. It was a wise choice: George Stead went on to serve in this capacity for many years and his business sense contributed greatly to the club's success.

Between 1900 and 1906 Stead was also the leading New Zealand racehorse owner in terms of wins and stakes. Like Henry Redwood, George Stead became something of a legend in his own lifetime, breeding many fine horses and importing thoroughbreds from England to improve his stock. After his death in 1908, the sale of his stud and racing team fetched 50,000 guineas, a substantial sum for those days.

Chokebore Lodge subsequently became the property of Sir George Clifford who became president of the New Zealand Racing Conference. He retained Ted Cutts who trained successfully both for Sir George and subsequently for his son, Sir Charles Clifford, after Sir George's death in 1930.

Riccarton has remained the leading South Island racecourse and has steadily improved its facilities over the years, although the major stakes in horse racing have now followed the bulk of New Zealand's population to the North Island.

Standardbred and thoroughbred horse breeding has continued to be a successful local activity and over the years a number of trainers and breeders within the Paparua County have made their names, not only by supplying gallopers for Riccarton and other New Zealand racecourses, but also trotters for Addington Raceway.

There are stories that local interest in trotting as a sport originated in the competitive instincts of business gentlemen bowling along Riccarton and Papanui Roads of a morning on their way to the city.

Whatever the truth of such tales, interest in trotting flourishes in New Zealand alongside the 'sport of kings'. The fertile pastures in Paparua County have produced more than their fair share of winners in both sports

CONCLUSION

Unspectacular Honour

As a microcosm of New Zealand society, Paparua County exhibited all the diversity from which the complex texture of a modern community is woven. Its fabric comprised a rich variety of educational opportunity, religious worship, and sporting achievement.

The county encompassed factories and businesses, farms and villages, houses and parks. Its developed infrastructure could stand comparison with any in New Zealand. The county's history is therefore also, in a sense, the history of the country.

The future does hold some uncertainties. No one really knows whether the much larger Christchurch City will be able to offer the same kind of strong personal service to all its ratepayers that the Paparua ratepayers have enjoyed in the past.

Previously when rates were being struck, staff and councillors in the peri-urban local bodies knew that their own ratepayers would be comparing their rates and benefits with those of their neighbours. This led to a healthy measure of competitive pencil sharpening that has now been lost.

Equally worrying is the status of the new Community Boards. Their exact powers have yet to be defined. Mr. Eddie Britnell, former chairman of the Sockburn District Community Council has suggested that these boards might suffer from the same deficiencies the former County Town systems suffered from back in the early 1950s.

These County Towns were weakened by of a mixture of appointed and elected members who had little real authority. If similar weaknesses emerge in the community boards, there will probably have to be some modifications.

Ratepayers in the former Paparua County can at least gain comfort from the continuity provided by those staff members and councillors who have remained in service under the new dispensation. The chairman of the new Riccarton/Wigram Community Board provides a case in point.

Mrs. Mary Corbett's involvement in community service dates back many years. She has served on the Hornby District Community Council and its antecedents since 1977. She became chairman of this council in 1981 and thus automatically a member of the Paparua County Council. Since then she has served on most of the different committees.

It is people like Mary Corbett - people willing to serve in their communities and who have built up considerable service records - who provide the surest hope that local communities will continue to thrive whatever form of local government is imposed upon them.

The sacrifices involved in such service should not be underestimated. Mr. Jack Pethig calculated that in 1989 his duties as County Chairman required him to attend an average of six and a half to seven meetings a week. It takes a special kind of person to make that kind of commitment. Anyone who has served on a committee of any description will acknowledge the long stretches of tedium between points of interest.

Back in the 1930s a Paparua County chairman concluded his annual report by stating that during the year the county had made solid though unspectacular progress. That comment encapsulates the essence of local government. There is little wordly glory in the provision of kerbing and channelling or the reticulation of sewerage or high-pressure water supplies. Yet it is the steady advance in the provision of these basic facilities that cumulatively builds up a community.

Local government at its best is almost invisible. Ratepayers are an incurious lot who are characteristically blind to the hard background work so long as all services function smoothly. Much of the progress achieved in Paparua County during its 78 years was indeed unspectacular, but it was also honest and honourable.

The same cannot blandly be said about all local bodies in New Zealand. There were counties in Canterbury that fell substantially short of Paparua's record. The staff and councillors over the years who ran Paparua therefore deserve every credit for establishing a sound and enduring county for their ratepayers.

APPENDIX

1. Paparua County Chairmen, 1911 - 1989

G. Witty	1911 - 1912
J. Leslie	1912 - 1937
P.F. Ryan	1937 - 1938
T.O. Morgan	1938 - 1940
A.E. Langdale-Hunt	1940 - 1942
W.F. McArthur	1942 - 1946
W.H. Overton	1946 - 1950
W.F. McArthur	1950 - 1955
J.D. Henderson	1955 - 1956
C.A. Campion	1956 - 1958
J.H. Weaver	1958 - 1964
R.J. Roberts	1964 - 1966
D.H. Warren	1966 - 1976
J.Y. Pethig	1976 - 1989

2. Paparua County Council, 1989

Sockburn District Community
E.C. Britnell, JP
J.P. Butler
D.J. Cunningham

Hornby District Community
M.I. Corbett (Mrs)
B.H. Anderson
R.L. Troon, JP

Halswell District Community
J.Y. Pethig, QSO, JP (County Chairman)

Rural District

Islington Ward
L. Connelly (Mrs)

Templeton Ward
J.S.M. Kyle

Yaldhurst Ward
B.A. Turner

West Melton Ward
W.S. Longman, JP

Prebbleton Ward
J.M.E. Calvert (Mrs)

Broadfield/Ladbrooks Ward
W.J. Baker, JP (Deputy Chairman)

Halswell Rural Ward
R.G. Pearce

Tai Tapu Ward
A.L. Jennings

Paparua County Councillors and District Community Councillors

1989

Julien Clothier Photographer (03) 489-016

W. J. BAKER J.P. E. C. BRITNELL J.P. R. G. PEARCE P. N. DAVEY D. E. McRAE J.P. J. H. TAYLOR C. W. CRAWFORD J.P. B. H. ANDERSON

R. L. TROON J.P. A. L. JENNINGS J.P. J. P. BUTLER M. M. LANGDON QSM; J.P. J. S. M. KYLE I. GANDA D. M. BLACKBURN R. J. D. GEDDES C. J. J. ADLAM

B. A. TURNER A. G. SUNBEAM J.P. V. A. MARSHALL L. I. CONNELLY J. Y. PETHIG QSO, J.P. J. M. E. CALVERT S. M. PURCELL

M. I. CORBETT W. S. LONGMAN J.P. (Chairman)

INSET: V. P. FROST J. M. PARK D. J. CUNNINGHAM

3. District Councillors, 1989

Sockburn District Community Council
E.C. Britnell, JP (Chairman)
C.J.J. Adlam
J.P. Butler
D.J. Cunningham
P.N. Davey
D.E. McRae, JP
V.A. Marshall (Miss)

Hornby District Community Board
M.I. Corbett (Mrs) (Chairman)
B.H. Anderson
V.P. Frost (Mrs)
I. Ganda
M.M. Langdon, JP (Mrs)
J.M. Park (Mrs)
R.L. Troon, JP

Halswell District Community Council
J.Y. Pethig, QSO, JP (Chairman)
D.M. Blackburn (Mrs)
C.W. Crawford,JP
R.J.D. Geddes
S.M. Purcell (Mrs)
A.G. Sunbeam, JP
J.H. Taylor

Rural District Council
W.J. Baker, JP (Chairman)
J.M.E. Calvert (Mrs)
L. Connelly (Mrs)
A.L. Jennings
J.S.M. Kyle
W.S. Longman, JP
R.G. Pearce
B.A. Turner

4. Paparua County Staff, 1989

Executive Staff

County Clerk	B.L. Mooar, JP
County Engineer	A.C. Watson

Senior Staff

Deputy County Clerk	G.R. Head
Accountant	P.J. Melton
Senior Administration Officer	R.E. Hobbs
Deputy County Engineer	P.M. Gallant (Sockburn)
Assistant County Engineer	I.D. Shepherd (Hornby)
Area Engineers	E.C. Aldridge (Waterworks) J. Foster (Halswell) B.G. Green (Rural District)
County Planner	R.C. Nixon
Assistant Planners	V. Vabulis N. Craine (Miss)
Health Inspectors	I.B. Dawson (Chief) B.R. Bennett A.E. Minnery
Building Inspector	N.A. Eade (Chief) R. Burnett P.R. Griffiths
Hydatids and Dog Control Officers	R.J.B. Mackintosh (Chief) A.G. Gilbert J.R. Rickard
Noxious Plants Officer	S.K. Brown
County Overseer	L.P. Saunders
Reserves Superintendent	M. Rykers
Community Recreation Advisor	C.P. Walls
Swimming Pools Superintendent	J.J. Cousins
Sockburn Testing Station Supervisor	I.C. Phillipson
County Librarian	K. Ocock
Deputy Librarian	S. Senior (Mrs)

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